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Band 5

Georg Morgenstierne

IRANO-DARDICA

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DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG



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¹ + Addenda

² Neuauflage

³ Neuauflage + Addenda

⁴ Neu (unveröffentlicht)

⁵ Übersetzung + Neubearbeitung (Addenda)

Danke Kurt Kristiansen und Ingo Ross wird eine vollständige Bibliographie (ab 1903) in der 2., rev. und erweit. Ausgabe der „Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages“ (Oslo 1973) erscheinen. Deshalb verzichten wir darauf, hier Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der „Indo-Iranian Languages C/ M“ (Wiesbaden 1964, 189-195) zu veröffentlichen.

PREFACE

My friend Professor Georges Redard has kindly proposed that I should publish a volume of Irano-Dardic, containing reprints of a number of previous articles, with the addition of a few new ones.

I have followed his suggestion because it seems possible that some papers, scattered about in various not everywhere easily accessible periodicals and festschriften may still be of some interest.

For special reasons I have included also one or two from the NTS.

I have made no changes in the earlier articles, only offered a few additions, either in the form of notes within brackets, or as addenda. I am grateful, not only to Professor Redard, but also to Dr. I. Reichert for his willingness to include this miscellany in the Series "Beiträge zur Iranistik" and to Mr. S. Sana for kindly shouldering the heavy burden of preparing the index.

G. M.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON ORMURI

In the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹ and subsequently in the Linguistic Survey of India² Sir George Grierson has given an account of the dialect of Ormuri (*Ormuri*) spoken in Kaniguram in Mazirisatan. His description is based chiefly on Chulian Muhammad Khan's *Qanūn-i-Bargisā*, which contains copious, but not exhaustive materials about this interesting Iranian language.

During my stay in the North West Frontier Province in 1929, while on a linguistic mission sent by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, I thought it worth while to take the opportunity of collecting some supplementary information about Ormuri of Kaniguram. I also wanted to compare this dialect with the one spoken in the Logar valley south of Kabul, a description of which has been published by the Institute³.

My first informant was Syed Ayub Shah, a young student in the Islamiya College near Peshawar, who in April 1929, although being very busy with his examinations, kindly let me have a few hours of his time. To some extent his statements were corroborated by another student from Kaniguram.

In September I got permission from the military authorities to motor through the occupied parts of Mazirisatan (the possibility of a visit to Kaniguram was excluded), and stopping for one day in Razmak, worked with an Ormuri from Kaniguram. He stated that there were

1100 houses of Ormurs in that village¹, of which they occupied the upper and lower parts, while Mahsuds lived in the centre. According to him a few words were pronounced in slightly different ways in the two Ormuri wards.

The pronunciation of my informants generally agreed. Some slight discrepancies in my material, especially as regards vowels, may be due to inaccurate notation, and not to actual difference of pronunciation. Some real differences did, however, seem to exist. E. g. the Razmak man frequently pronounced an open *ɔ* (probably of a slightly "mixed" character), where my informant from Islamiya had a more narrow *ø* or *ä* (cf. s. vv. *dyä*, *muräy*, *ryä*, *syä*, *šyän*, *šä*, *äpät*, *täw*). The latter often pronounced a vocalic *i* (*in*), where the Razmak man had a semivocalic *y* (*in*) (cf. s. vv. *gyät*, *syä*, *dawäs* etc.). Note also Razmak *rys-*, *rywšäz*, *rys-*, *myesät*: Islamiya, on the one hand *rys-*, *wšät*, on the other hand *rys-*, *myesät*. (Groups of consonants which were simplified in the pronunciation of the Razmak man (cf. s. vv. *ryän*, *mek*, *dis*, *his*), were in some cases retained by the Islamiya student. Regarding the use of different words by my two informants cf. s. vv. *äryät* (*šäšät*), *talän* (*maräwät*), *waqä* (*maqäk*), *zbasät*. For variant forms of some numerals cf. below.

The necessarily scanty materials which I had the opportunity of collecting, may yet add something to our knowledge of Ormuri. In the first instance the vocabulary given below includes a certain number of genuine Ormuri words not hitherto recorded. I mention here only *ä*- 'to sit' < **ä-hida*- (not known in Ir.); *yäš* 'entrails' cf. Skr. *āhira*-; *masäryä* 'brain' < Av. *masrəyān*-; *jä* (< **yātā*) 'husband's brother's wife'; and *jäš* 'liver' show that initial *y*- results in Orm. *j*-. Probably also **wy-* > *y-* > *j*-, cf. *jäk* 'place'. But **wi-* > *ji-*: *jistä* '20'; Logar *jusp* 'span' < **wihispi*- (cf. my Orm. Grammar, § 45, op. cit.). The Kaniguram words for 'span': *jhasp*, *zbasät* are difficult to explain. *jhasp* might possibly be derived from **jwasp*? < *jwasp* (> Logar *jusp*). But *zbasät* < **jbasät* can scarcely be derived with assimilation of *j* > *s* > *z*.

¹ Vol. VII, No. 1.
² Vol. X.

³ Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, by Georg Morgenstierne, Vol. I, Parachi and Ormuri, Oslo 1929.

¹ According to the I.S.I. 4—500.

² Cf. the secondary development of *šw* > *šp* in Pšit. *špat* '6', *rišpat* 'tribe' < *rišwat*; Kabuli Pš. *rišpāt* 'tribe' < *rišwāt*.

from **jnasl* < **wiasli-*. It would be very strange, indeed, if the forms **wiasli-* and **wiaspi-* should both have survived in Kaniguram. Note, however, Bal. *gidisi*, *gidisp* and *gidisk*. Also *jñu-* 'to see' is difficult. It is conceivable that Ir. **wain-*, through **wəyñ-*, might result in **jñu-*, but scarcely in *jñu-*.

In some cases we find words known previously from the Logar dialect, but not from Kaniguram. I. g. *ɣəʃ* 'snow' which shows that the derivation of Logar *ɣəʃ* from Av. *naʃra-* is correct.

It may not be useless to record such Orm. words from the Kaniguram dialect, which are already given in the L.Sl. In most cases the words I heard corroborate the forms transcribed in the L.Sl. from the Qawāid-ḫ-Bargisā. On the whole Ghulam Muhammad Khān appears to have noted down the words with great accuracy. And in some cases (e. g. as regards the distribution of *š* and *ʃ*) his forms may be more correct than those which I recorded during the very short time at my disposal. In other cases the forms given in this vocabulary will probably be more accurate, especially as regards the vowels.

In the case of a few words only, the forms given in the L.Sl. appear to be evidently incorrect, either owing to misprints in the Qawāid-ḫ-Bargisā, or to errors in the original notation. Such words are e. g. L.Sl. *kinmat* 'hen' (cf. Voc. s. v. *kirzi*), *ɣnəwān* 'watercourse' (cf. s. v. *ɣnəti*), *ɣwac* 'calf' (cf. s. v. *ɣwəs*), *šəntəs* '16' (cf. s. v. *šəntəs*). All my informants pronounced *š* 'ɹ ʒ'; but L.Sl. *š* 'ɹ' may possibly be an older form. I heard *anəs* '19', *ɸəɣjāsu* '50'; but L.Sl. *məs*, *ɸəɣjāsu*. Here Ghulam Muhammad Khān has probably been influenced by the preceding numeral *asəɹ* '40'. The Razmak man, and the second Isaniya student, had *šəntəš* '60' (Logar *šəntəš*); but my principal Isaniya informant pronounced *šəntəti*, cf. L.Sl. *šəntəti*. I heard *ālk*, *həɣ* 'egg' of which L.Sl. *hənwak*, if correct, may be a more archaic form.

A great number of the words recorded in the following vocabulary are loan-words from Psht.¹ A few only of these words present

¹ Note *mət* 'slave' from Psht., but L.Sl. *muk*, a genuine (Orm. form.

the phonetical peculiarities of the adjoining Waziri dialect. Cf. s. v. v. *dē*, *ɹtān*, *kək*, *kərb*, *kəɹɹ*, *kəɹɹ*, *lənūn*, *ɸɹəɣ*, *lɹɸɹ*, *uḫai*. The great bulk of Psht. loanwords, however, have the ordinary Psht. vowels *a*, *ā*, *ā*, *o*, *u*, not Waz. *ā* (*ā*), *ā*, *ā*, *ā*. Numerous examples will be found all through the vocabulary. Very frequently we find *i*, *u* for Waz. *ə*. While some of the Orm. forms seem to be more archaic than the Waz. ones (e. g. *ḫiḫ*, *kiliḫ*, *hiḫ*, *mḫiḫ*, *mindi*, *ḫiḫiḫ*, *mux*, *shar* etc.), in others the *i* *u* are due to a secondary development (e. g. *ɣirəniḫ*, *xsiḫ*, *ɣirəniḫ*, *caruḫ* etc.). Forms such as *nəɹ* 'bread', *inəɹ*, *məsai* 'nephew', *uḫiḫ* 'cloud', *uḫiḫ* 'brother's wife' are more archaic as regards the consonants than Waz. *məɹai*, *inəsai*, *uḫiḫ*, *uḫiḫ*. In *zāmba* 'jaw' (Waz. *zāmba*, Psht. *zāmba*, cf. Skr. *jambhā*) the *mb* is, in spite of the etymology of the word, probably of secondary origin, cf. *xambira* with original *m*. Cf. *ḫid* 'saddle', and (Orm. (ir. § 51).

It is not, however, necessary to assume that Orm. has got its Psht. loan-words from another dialect than Waz. As far as we know, the Omurs of Kaniguram have never been in contact with any other Pathan tribe, and it is probable that they have borrowed the bulk of Psht. words contained in their language, at a time when Waz. peculiarities of pronunciation were not yet fully developed. Waz., like several other Psht. dialects, distinguishes between fem. stems in *-yē* (< **-akē-*) and in *-ai* (< **-akē-*). In Shamlard Psht. both kinds of stems have the suffix *-ai*. In Orm. of Kaniguram we find *-iḫ*, *-yḫ* (L.Sl. *-yḫ*) in all cases, e. g. *ḫiḫ* 'duck', *ɣirəniḫ* 'collar'; Waz. *ḫai*, *ɣirəniḫ*. Orm. has generalized this form in order to avoid the masculines in *-ai* and the feminines in *-ai* (> Waz. *ai*) being identical in form. In Waz. the change of *-ai* to *-ai* has resulted in several feminine nouns being transferred to the masculine (cf. s. v. v. *ḫarḫ*, *ɸirḫ*), and in some cases such words have been borrowed as masculines into Orm. (cf. s. v. v. *spəḫniḫ*, *ḫəɹniḫ*, borrowed before the change of *ə* > Waz. *ə*, but after *-ai* had become *-ai*).

The treatment of Waz. *š* in loanwords in Orm. varies. In some words we find Orm. s. I. g. *siḫ* (B. *siḫ*) 'sand', *suḫa* 'tip', *spəḫniḫ* 'moon', *siḫni* 'to neigh', *siḫni* 'helmet', *ḫas* 'cat', *ras* 'cream'.

But in several of these words *s* is found in Psht. dialects, too. *sirwā* 'soup' corresponds to Psht. *šōrwā*, *šīrwā*. The Waz. form has not been recorded, but we should expect **šīrwā*. Orm. *sukar* 'horn', *sayy* 'hip' are probably genuine, with *s < sr* (Orm. Gr. § 67), and not borrowed, with *s < Psht. š*. But 'Islamīya' *šayy* may have been influenced by the Psht. form.

In most cases we find (Orm. *š* representing Waz. *š* (= *ś* and *ṣ*)¹. I have recorded *š* in *šōisā* 'beautiful' (Waz. *šōisā*); but possibly *š* is actually pronounced in other loan-words, too, corresponding to Psht. *š*.

The sound transcribed *š'* contains a short, but distinct, unvoiced *r*-sound. The first part of the compound appears to be pronounced with the tip of the tongue bent further back than in ordinary *š*.

Intervocalic *ŋ* is really a nasalized *r* (the nasalization extending to the preceding vowel), and different from the postalveolar *ŋ* in *ŋd*, *ŋf*.

The final *ɔ* (L.Sl. *ɔ*) is rather mixed, something like a very low and retracted *a*. The acoustic quality of the sound varies a good deal.

Words recorded from my Razmak informant are unmarked; (B) after a word denotes that I heard it in Islamīya only, B after a word that I heard the same form from both informants.

Other abbreviations are: L.: the Logar dialect of Ormuri; K.: the Kaniguran dialect of Ormuri (as described in the L.Sl. = Linguistic Survey of India); E.V.I.¹ is my Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto; Orm. Voc., Orm. Grammar, Par. Voc. denote the vocabularies and Grammars of Ormuri and Parachi contained in my account of these languages mentioned above.

Waz. denotes that a word is quoted from Lorimer's Waziri vocabulary. The Waz. form of Psht. loanwords in (Orm. is given, whenever possible. In some cases I have recorded the Waz. equivalent of an Orm. word, as given by my informants.

‡ before a word denotes that it has not previously been recorded in Orm. (obvious loan-words are unmarked); * before a word denotes that it was not previously known from K.

¹ J. G. Lorimer in his 'Grammar' and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto' (Calc. 1902) does not distinguish between these two sounds.

The arrangement is based on the alphabetical order of the consonants, the vowels coming into consideration in cases only in which the same consonant or consonants are followed or separated by different vowels. Nasalized vowels count as *n*.

Etymologies not given here will be found in the Orm. Voc.

Vowels.

a- definite article.
-a pron. suff. 3 sg.

‡ *ɛ*- 'to sit', *az tɛm* 'I am sitting', *ɔ sarai tɛ* 'this man is sitting'.

< **ā-had*, *ā-hida*.

i- locative prefix.

ɔ this. K *hā*, L. *a*.

ābar (B) 'cloud'. Prs. Cf. *wərj*.

iddal (B) 'hither'.

aŋa, B. *aŋ* m., *aŋ* f., *aŋa* pl. 'that'.

aŋa hē-zān 'four days ago'.

al- B contracted pron. 3 sg.

ɛlɛ 'duck', Waz. *ɛlɛ* f. — Psht. *hɛlɛ* is considered to be a loan-

word from Skr. *hilla*- (E.V.I.¹ s. v.). But cf. Vidgha *yɛkko* < **ādyakā* (?), Munji *yɛkka* etc. < **ādyakā* (?), poss. Wakhi *yɛ*.

ahkar (B) 'light' (adj.). Waz. *ābh*.

amar- (B) 'to hear', *az bu har tā a-xabare amaran* 'I hear

your words'.

āind (B) 'mirror'. Waz. *wōina*.

āud, pl. *ɛnd*, B. *hōud* 'blind', *aŋai tnd* in 'they are blind'.

andra 'grindstone'. Waz.

injir 'fig', Psht.

h-, B *hul*: *ɛhuk*, B *hālek* 'to grind', *ɛm-a bu, ɛhukam-a*, B *hālin*,

hālekam-a. K *hul*-*ɛk*.

ālk, B *hoyk*, pl. *ɛlɛ*, B *hēnɛ* 'egg'. L. *auk*, K *hannalk*. *ālk* is

apparently a younger form of K **(b)analk*.

amɛ B '19'.

āštajista '28'.

+ *iz* 'mussuck, inflated skin'. < **izya*, v. [EVP. s. v. *zai*, cf. Mi. *yijya*, Yd. *izē*, Bal. etc. *zik* etc.

inžān, B *inžān* 'the day before yesterday'. *prān-inžān*, *mān-inžān*, *aḡa-h-inžān*. L *inžān*, K *inžān*. < **anya*- (+ *it*?) + *anya*, cf.

Av. *azam*- 'day', Ishk. *pa-r-uzd* (*zd* < *zu*) 'yesterday'

inžasāl cān 'last year but one'. Cf. *inžān*.

arv 'saw'. Waz. *āra*.

arjūnai 'yawn'. *a'* *yē b-kēm*. 'I am yawning'. Waz. *arjūnai*.

Urmuḡ (B) 'Ormur'.

ārat 'wide, broad'. Psht.; Waz. *wōrat*. V. *hāš'at*.

aržai 'eruclation'. Psht.

isāb 'reckoning'. *isāb kēm*. Waz. *hisāb*.

asāl cān B 'this year'.

asunān, B *asunān* 'sky'. Waz. *asunān*.

ispeh B 'barley'.

asī- 'to stand'. *ā sapai asīa*.

asīai B 'go'. *asīai n das* B go. K *hāšīai*.

asīks B '18'.

awāi B '70'.

inēl (B) 'thither'. L *"wal*.

awas-; *aydē* B 'to teach'. *awasan*, *aydōm*. *aydē* 'was born'.

awēs B '17'.

axur 'manger'. L. *axur*. P's.

axēy 'smeating'. *phēi wē b-axēy kēm* 'now I am smeating'. plaster-

ing it; *axēy-am dōk*. Psht.

axšai B 'wife's brother'. Waz. *wōšai*.

az B '1'.

žēš 'shoulder'. Waz. *žēa*.

azān B 'millet'. K *azān*, L. *akān*.

B.

bi B, 'other'. *bi-cān* 'next year'.

bā, b. verbal particle.

bai 'near'. B *bōye-ha*. L *bōy*.

baciriā B 'spark'. Waz. *bacirrai*.

bād B 'wind'. Waz. *bād*.

badila 'song'. P's. *badila yucasam*.

badān B 'almond'. Waz. *badān*.

buḡ 'concealed'. *buḡ-a b-kēm*. L *puḡ*, K *buḡ*. Waz. *paḡ*. Cf. Orm.

Giramu. § 48.

bāy 'garden'. Waz. *bōy*.

buḡ 'to bellow'. *buḡi* 3 sg. L *bay*.

bayrit 'pestle (= *mārit*), mortar'. Waz. *bayrai* f. 'hole in the

ground used as a mortar'.

† *byriā* 'cheek'. Waz. *bayrum*. Cf. Torw. *hogūl*, acc. to Grierson

< Skr. *kaphola*- (> **kabula* > **bokala*)-?

bāka 'bucket'. Psht. *bōka*, Waz. *bāra*.

bala- (B) 'to light, kindle'. *az bu a-rumūn balān* 'I light the

fire', *balācan* 'to light'. Waz. *balawēl*.

balā (B) 'cat'. Ind. Cf. *pus*.

balāš 'pillow'. Psht. *bāšā*.

bānūn, B *bānū* 'earth'.

bamburē 'wasp'. K *bamburāi*. Waz. *bambur*.

bāng 'crowing'. *a-phing bu bāng kūt*. Waz. *bāng* 'call to prayers'.

bānḡ 'cowpen in the hills'. Waz. *bōnḡa*.

baw 'door'.

bāwī m., *bāwē* f. 'calf, one year old'. K *bārai*.

bāwān B 'rain'. P's.

bayng 'full-blown flower'. Waz. *biang*.

brus 'lightning'. K *brus*, 'rē' 'to glitter'. Waz. *brēša* 'flash of

lightning'.

brīšik 'pain in the ribs'. Waz. *brēs* 'wing, shooting pain'.

brēl, B *brēl* 'moustache'. Waz.

barēs 'steam'. Psht.

**bēs*, B *bēs* 'rope'. L *bēs*.

basā 'bound'. *basā kēm-a bu*. P's.

baš f. 'hawk'. Psht.

bašār m., *bašāra* f. 'quail, quail', K *bašār* f., Waz. *bašār*.

byē-yŋz 'the day after to-morrow'. Cf. *bī*.

biyān B 'waist'. < **niyān*.

bijān, pl. f 'foal, colt'. Waz. *bijān*.

bās m. 'hawk'. Psht.

biz: *pyk* 'to cook'. *bizim*, *pykum-a*. L *biž*, K *biz*.

buz 'he-goat'. Prs.

bizar (B) 'arm'. K *bazar*.

buzwa B 'spider'. K *bucwa*.

bēza, in *i-bēza* 'above'. L *phēga*, K *pa-bēg*.

C.

† *cayān* 'tripod, *layarān*'. Waz. *teyana*. Prs. *teyana* 'iron plate used for baking bread'.

**cāk* 'cold'. L *cik* 'cold', K *cāk* 'acid'. If K has preserved the original meaning of the word, it might be derived from **cakāka*, cf. Skr. *cakra*- 'vinegar', etc. But cf. Waz. *cik* 'rheumatism' = 'cold'?

cakā 'knife'. Waz. *tākā*, *ākt*.

cām f. pl. *camī*, B *camī* 'eye'. *sa cām* 'one eye'.

cimca 'spoon, ladle'. Waz. *camcakai*, *samsa*.

cām B 'year'. L *čān*, K *cām*.

cāngga B, pl. *cānji* 'branch'. Waz. *cānga*.

cangāl B 'elbow'. Waz. *cangal*.

cijic, v. *cinič*.

caphi (pl.?), B. *caphai* 'sandal'. Waz. *caphai*.

cār B '4'.

cir- 'to cleave, tear'. *cirim-a bu*. Psht.; Waz. *cīral*.

ciryušit 'four-pronged threshing fork'. Orm. + Psht. Cf. *yēšū*.

cerijisu '24'.

carmin 'hide, skin'. Waz. *carman*.

cāres, B *cāres*, *cārés* '14'.

cax (B) 'mill wheel'. Waz.

cimūnā, B *caymāne* 'early spring'. Waz. *caymūnai*.

cāšān B '40'.

cāšāna (B) 'housewife'. L. *čāšān*, K *lašān*, Waz. *čāšān* m.

cāli 'sheaf'. Waz. *cālai*.

caw 'to go'. *nak bu cawa* 'the water flows'.

cwan- 'to shake dust out of clothes'. < **hača dwan*- cf. Mj. *buwānn* 'I winnow', Psht. *huwānn* etc.

caxal 'fat'.

Č.

čā (B) 'ceiling'. K *čiw*.

čig B 'high, *wičd*'. Waz. *čog*.

čakčē 'hammer'. Cf. L *čukčē* (Prs.). -k < -šk?

čaukāl 'doorframe'. Ind.

čielo, B *čilo* 'left (hand)'. K *čel*.

čijit, B *čijit* 'woman's hair'. Waz. *cunyt*.

† *čiya* 'sneeze'. *čiya nyē dā* 'I sneezed'.

čirgēlai m., *čirgēlēt* f. 'chicken'. Diminutive of Psht., Waz. *čirg*.

čat 'roof'. Psht.

D.

di a particle indicating existence.

dē(h)- 'to beat, hit'. *dēn-a bu* 'I beat him', *pa pāri wā b-dēn*

'I hit his feet', *pa miller-a b-dēn* 'I hit him with the gun',

bād dēla 'the wind blows'. K *jōk* 3, 'to throw, propel', aor.

1 sg. *d'm*, 3 sg. *dā*.

dā B, pl. *dawē*, *dawē* 'laughter'.

**dučē*, pl. *dučē* 'shoe'. L *dēč*. Prob. the original sg. was **dik*.

dēg, B *dēg* 'cooking-pot'. Prs.

dujār, B *dujār* 'maize'. L *dōjār*, cf. Mando Khol Psht. *duzār*.

dika, pl. *dika* (B) 'pupil of the eye'. < **dikačā*, cf. Prs. *didah*.

dika 'girl'. Cf. *dā*.

dāl contracted pron. 2 prs.

dāmān 'hen'. Prs.

dāmān, pl. *dēn* 'a single grain of corn'. Prs. Waz. *māna*.

dāna B 'wheat flour'. Waz. *dāna*. < Ind. < Prs.

† *dās* (B) 'goat's wool'. Cf. Shgh. *došē*, Sar. *dōs*, Mj. *hurs*, id.

Par. *dās* hair, Brahui *darusam* (borr. from Ir.).

† *dāš*, B *dāš*(U) 'sickle'. Prs. *dās*, Psht. *lor*, Sangl. *dār*, etc.

Skr. *dātva*.

d(ə)ɾɔ, pl. *ɾɪ* B 'hair'. L *ɾɔɪ*, K *ɾɔ*.

ɾɪɾ: *dilək*, B *dɪɾək* 'to cut grain'. *dɪɾɪɪn-a bu*, az *dilək-a*; B az *bu a-gumɪn dɪɾɪɪn* 'I cut the wheat', az *ɾɪɪn a-gumɪn dɪɾɪɪk* 'I cut the wheat yesterday'.

ɾɪɾɪ B 'long'.

ɾɪɾɪɾ 'stubble'. Waz. *ɾɪɾɪɾ*.

† *ɾɔɪɾɪɾ*, B. *ɾɔɪɾɪɾ* 'bow'. Cf. Soghd. *ɾɔɪɪ* 'bow', (Oss. *ɾɔɪɪn*, Prs. *ɾɔɪɪna* 'rainbow', etc.

ɾɪɾɪɪ, B *ɾɪɾɪɪ* 'lies'. L *ɾɪɾɪɪ*, K *ɾɪɾɪɪ*.

ɾɪɾɪɪɪ 'carpet, durtec'. Ind.

ɾɪɾɪɪɪ B 'river'. Waz. *ɾɪɾɪɪɪ*.

ɾɪɪ 'weaver'. Ind.

ɾɪ B 10.

ɾɪɪ, B *ɾɪɪ* 'hand'. az *bu a-ɾɪɪ* (a *ɾɪɪɪ ɾɪɪɪ*) *ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ* 'I wash my hand (hands)'. K *ɾɪɪɪ*.

ɾɪɪɪ: *dūk*, B also *ɾɪɪɪɪ*, 'to milk'. *ɾɪɪɪɪ*, *dūk-a*. L *dūk*, K *ɾɪɪɪɪɪ*.

ɾɪɪ v. *ɾɪɪ*.

† *ɾɪɪɪɪɪ* m. 'a kind of bird'. V. *ɾɪɪ*. Prs. *ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ*?

ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ '22'.

ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ 'wall'. Waz. *ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ*.

ɾɪɪɪɪ B. *ɾɪɪɪ* '12'.

ɾɪɪɪ, B. *ɾɪɪɪ*, *ɾɪɪ* '2'.

ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ 'two-pronged threshing fork'. Orm. + Psh. Cf. *ɾɪɪɪɪ*.

ɾɪɪɪɪ 'firewood'.

ɾɪɪ 'rough'. Waz. *ɾɪɪ*, Psh. *ɾɪɪ*.

D.

ɾɪɪ B 'lungs'. Waz. *ɾɪɪ* 'hollow', *ɾɪɪɪɪ* 'side of the body'.

ɾɪɪ 'satisfied'. Waz.

ɾɪɪ (B) 'belly'. K.

ɾɪɪɪɪɪ (B) 'wasp'. Psh. *ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ*, Waz. *ɾɪɪɪɪɪɪ* 'wasps' nest'.

ɾɪɪɪ 'pool'. Waz.

ɾɪɪɪɪɪ 'lean, weak'. Waz.

ɾɪɪ (B) 'to fear'. az *bu ɾɪɪɪɪ*. Waz. *ɾɪɪ*.

G.

gɪɪ 'bed'. K *gɪɪ*. Cf. Prs. *gɪɪ* 'place, throne' < O. Prs. *gɪɪɪ*.

gɪɪ B 'ear'.

gɪɪɪɪ B 'jackal'. Waz.

gɪɪɪɪ 'hame'. Psh.

gɪɪɪɪ 'belly'. Wanechi Psh. *gɪɪɪ* 'churn (made of an inflated skin)'. Lbl. *gɪɪɪɪ* 'a small inflated skin'.

gɪɪɪ 'flesh, meat'.

gɪɪ: *gɪɪɪɪ*, f. *gɪɪɪ* (B) 'to take away'. *gɪɪɪ-a*.

gɪɪ 'to twist'. *gɪɪɪ*.

gɪɪ 'lying down'. *gɪɪ-a*. K *gɪɪ* < **gɪɪɪ*, cf. K *gɪɪɪ* 'lying upon' < **gɪɪɪɪ* < **gɪɪɪɪɪ*. Originally 'bending, bent'?

gɪɪ 'flower'. Waz.

gɪɪ (B) 'to extinguish'. *gɪɪɪɪ-a bu*. Prs.

gɪɪɪ (B) 'shoulder'.

gɪɪɪ, pl. *gɪɪɪ* B 'rat'.

B *gɪɪ* 'stick, wood'. Cf. Lbl. *gɪɪ*, *gɪɪ*, 'bundle', Kalasla *gɪɪɪ*.)

'wood, stick'?

**gɪɪ* 'human excrements'. L. *gɪɪ*. Prs.?

gɪɪɪ, B *gɪɪɪɪ* 'wheat'.

gɪɪɪ 'sack, bag'. Waz. *gɪɪɪ*, *gɪɪɪ* f.

gɪɪɪ. B 'to sew'. *gɪɪɪɪɪ-a bu*, B. *gɪɪɪɪ*. Waz.

† *gɪɪɪ* 'fighing with somebody'. *gɪɪɪ* s.m.

gɪɪɪ 'knee'. Waz. *gɪɪɪ*. Ind.? Cf. W. Bal. *gɪɪɪ*.

gɪɪɪ 'dumb'. Waz. *gɪɪɪ*.

gɪɪ B 'stone'.

gɪɪ B 'mountain'.

gɪɪ, pl. *gɪɪɪ* B 'kid'.

gɪɪɪ (B) 'space between the fingers'. Psh. *gɪɪ*, Waz. *gɪɪ*.

Afr. *gɪɪ*. But why *ɪ*?

gɪɪɪɪ 'centipede'. K *gɪɪɪɪ*.

gɪɪɪ (B) dem. of *gɪɪ*.

gɪɪ (B) 'heavy'. Waz. *gɪɪ*.

gɪɪɪ (B) 'collar-bone'. Waz. *gɪɪɪ*.

gizā- 'to vomit'. *gizāim bū*. Waz. *gorzanol* i. a. 'to vomit'.
garvāi 'water-pot'. Waz. *garvāi*.
 † *gurbičizik* 'span between thumb and second finger'. Sherani
 Psh. *gudbāzāi*, Kakar Psh. *gudhazāi* etc.
gūdāi 'round'. Waz. *gōpāi*.
gugvūtāi 'earwig'. Psh. *gugvūtāi* etc. Cf. K *gūvūl* 'dung beetle'.
gas, B pl. *gasī* 'loot'.
gyōi, pl. *gyōi*, B *gīō*, pl. *gyūi* m., f. 'bull, cow'.

I.

yōbat 'threshing'. *yōbat bu kēm*. Waz. *yēbat*.
yēbōn 'cowherd'. Waz. *yēbōn*.
yaf-: *yafak* 'to weave'. *yafin-a bu 'ēbun*.
yāb 'grain'. Waz. *yāla*.
yōlāi 'courtyard'. Waz. *yōlāi*.
yābēl 'sieve, for grain'. Waz.
yālēz (B) 'carpet'. Psh.
 † *yūbak* 'kidney'. < *yūkhaka*, cf. P's. *gyōda*, Psh. *pušā-ten-ga*.

Mj. *tuŋs'iga*, Sangl. *wjlk*, Av. *torōka*.

yulmāi, B. *yulmāi* 'tiding-bill, *nōhā*'. < P's. *lagām*.
 † *yumdi-tēcan* (B) 'to sew with a large needle'. Cf. Psh. *du yundi*
sōn 'pack-needle'?

yūn 'penis'. Waz. *yūn*, Psh. *yēn*.
yūndā 'knot'. Psh. *yūnd* 'round', Waz. *yūnda* 'button', etc.?
yāb- 'to bark'. *a-spag bu yāpa*. Waz. *yāpādh*.
yrai 'heirloom'. K *yrai*. Waz. *yrai*, *yrai*. Cf. *yrai*.
yār 'hole of the ear'. Waz. *yār* 'hole'.
yārb 'poor'. Waz.

yirānāi B 'mountain-goat, *šācā*'. Waz. *yirānāi*.
yamū 'noon'. Waz. *yamū*.

yās B 'black, spleen' (cf. Psh. *tōr* 'black', *tōrai* 'spleen').
yāsā spēn (B) 'the temples' (: 'black and white').

† *yuzādā*, pl. *āyādi*, *āyāi* 'falcon, *šāhin*'. Cf. Psh. *yuzādā* 'to jump, toss about, be agitated'.

yaf- 'to wrap up'. *yafin-a bu*. K, Waz. *yāpā*.
yēšāi, B. *yēšā* 'arrow'. Waz. *yēšāi*.
 * *yōš*, B *yōš*, *yōš* 'snow'. L *yōš*.
yūš. (B) 'to fear'. *yūšām*. L *yūš*, K *yūš*.
yūš (B) 'to frighten'. *yūšēm*.
yāp 'bad'. Waz. *yāla*.
yūlungāi 'thigh'. L *yūl*, K *yūul* 'fat'. Waz. *yūul*.
yūllā-gušt (B) 'thumb'.
yūwāi B 'canal, water-course'. K *yūwāi* (?). Cf. Psh. *wāla*, *wāwāla*
 etc., Av. *wādi*.

yūwāi 'calf'. K.
yūwās, pl. *yūwāsi*, B *yūwās* 'calf'. L *yūwāsi*, K *yūwāsi*. The preservation
 of Aryan *ts* in K *e* is very improbable, and the form with
e is probably incorrect.

yūwās, B *yōs*: *yēk* 'to speak, read'. *yūwāsan-a bu*, *az* *yēk-a*;
 B. *yōsan*, 3 sg. *yūst*, 1 pl. *māx bu a-kūlō yūstān*, *az a-kūlō*
yēk-a. L *yūš*, K *yūwāsi*. Av. *wāša*, cf. Meillet, BSL. 26, 11.

yūwāsi 'grass'. K.
yūwāsi-a: *yūwāsi-ē* (B) 'to wash'. *yūwāsi-ayūn*, *az bu a-xuāi dīstī*
yūwāsi-ēn I washed my hands. L *yūwāsi*, K *yūwāsi-ān*.

yūwāsi: *yūwāsi*, *yūwāsi* (B) 'to fall'. *a-wādi yūwāsi*. L *yūwāsi*, K *yūwāsi*.
 † *yūwāsi* 'fat (subst.)', *wāzādā*. < *wāzādā*? Cf. Sangl. *wāsi*, Mj.
wāzād, Psh. [V.V. s. v. *wāzādā*.

II.

hā, B *hō* '7'. L *wō*, K *hō*.
hōnd, v. *ānd*.
hāl, v. *āl*.
hāsi B '8'. L *āsi*, K *hāsi*.
 † *hāsi* (B) 'wide, broad'. *āwāt* (q. v.) from Psh. Orm. *-š*, as
 well as Psh. *-r*, could be derived from **θr*; but Orm. and
 Psh. *-l* cannot both be derived from the same ancient fr. group
 of consonants. Is the Orm. word borr. from an earlier Psh.
 form (**āhāt*?)?

haw: *hišlak* (B) 'to read'. *az hawani*, 2 sg. *hañ*, 3 sg. *ašd bu a-kiñab hawa*, imper. 2 sg. *yā*, *aš a-kiñab hišlak-a*. L. *aw*.

K *haw*-imper. and pres. 2 sg. *wāw*).

hawjīstū '27'.

hačar (B) '1000', v. *čār*.

J.

† *ja*, pl. *jāi* 'husband's brother's wife, *yār*'. Cf. Mj. *yāi*, Sangl. *yārd* < **yārdā*, Psht. *yār* < **yārdār*.

jāk 'place'. K *jāk*, L. *jāi*.

jau 'to wink'. *janīm*. Psht.

jēm 'below'. i-*jēno*.

jan 'to beat, strike'. *lanbōd janam* 'I swim'. L. *zan*, K *zan*, *jan*. *jan*, B *jan*: *dyeḥ* 'to see'. *dyeḥ be sa* 'it appears', *janēm*, L. *juš*.

K *jan*. Cf. the introduction.

† *jantr*, B *jantr* 'mill. *la jantr* *pal* 'mill-stone', *la dišl jantr* 'hand-mill'. Waz. *žantra*, Psht. *žarinda*, *zrimda* etc.

† *jāš* 'liver'. < **yāšr*, Av. *yākur*; Psht. *yina*, Yd. *yāran* < **yāxn*. *jarč* 'woman'. L. *zarka*, K *zarka*. Cf. Waz. *jilkai* girl?

J.

jhašp 'span', v. *zbašt*. L. *jušp*.

janđār 'oats'. Psht.

jač 'foam'. Psht. *zāč*.

jingār 'faded, withered'. Waz. *jinğar*, Psht. *jinğar*.

jōr 'sound, well'. Waz.

jōra 'to knit'. *jōraim*. Waz. *jōrawal* 'to make'.

jista B, *aḡjista* '20'.

† *jōštai* 'afternoon'.

K.

k: *dok* B 'to do'. *kēm*, 3 sg. *kai*.

kač 'to measure'. *kačim-a bu*. Waz. *kač* 'measure'.

kačir, m, *kačira* f. 'mule'. Waz.

† *kaf* 'straw, bus, *prōre*, *salia*'. K *purōr*?. Pts. *kafasg* 'husks, chaff' < *kaf* 'froath, foam'?

kafān 'hoe'. Pts. *kufānidan* 'to cleave, cut open'?

kafāw 'basket, camel-pannier'. Waz. *kafāwa*.

kōk 'a kind of bread'. Waz.

kakarē B 'top of the head' Waz. *kakarai* f.

kāl B 'knife, *čura*'.

kili 'village'. Waz. *kali*.

k'ānk 'boy'. L. *klandk*, K *kulanāb*.

k'ān, pl. *k'ānmi* B 'son'.

kambada 'blanket'. Psht.

kamar (B) 'rock'. Waz. *

kamarband 'belt'. Waz.

kōn B 'dead'. K *kūn*. Cf. Waz. *kūn*.

kānāi B 'tick, *kānāi*'.

kinda 'to dig'. *kindān-a bu*. Waz. *kindal*.

kunāti 'podex'. Waz. *kunātai*.

Kānig(ā)rum (B) *Kaniguram*.

kanač, B *kānāwā* 'hoof'. Waz. *kūnāwa*.

† *kunik* 'lobe of the ear'. Ind.?

kungai (B) 'shield'. Waz.

† *kūngem* 'vomiting'. *kūngem bu stū* 'I vomit'.

kup 'to cut'. *kupim*.

kur 'to till'. *a-ḥūno b-karim*.

kur 'work'. *az bu kar kēm*. Waz. *kōr*.

kreb 'stirrup'. Waz. *kreb* < *rikāb*.

† *kuryār*, *kuryaḡāle* (B) 'throat, *ywand*'.

kurkič (B) 'ploughshare, *karakič*'.

kuray 'ice'. Waz. *karing* < Psht. *kangar*.

kurs (B) 'chain'. Waz. *koursi*.

kirzai 'hawk, *(āphs)*. Cf. *kirzi*, and Psht. *yul* thief.

**kirzi* B 'hen'. K *kirmai* (acc. to LSl. the rearing of this word

which occurs once only in the Qawāle-Bargisā, is uncertain).

† *kurāzi* 'spade'. Wanechi Psht. *kroz*. Cf. Pts. *kūnz* 'narrow'.

kryy, *kryji* 'crow, *zyōy*'. Waz. *kryya*.

kūḡa 'to shear'. *kurḡān-a bu*. Cf. Lhd. *kutray* etc.?

kēs B 'shirt'. Psht.

kus 'vulva'. Psht.

- kiāb* B 'book'. Waz. *kiāb*.
kaḷ 'coal'. Engl.
ku^wāi, B. *kāi* 'a well'. Waz. *kyai*.
kyān 'anus'. V. *kuṇāḷi*. Waz. *kuna* 'pudendum muliere'.
kāz 'crooked'. Waz. *kāz*.
kōā 'to bend'. *kōānu-a bu*.

L.

- lid* 'dung of horses'. Waz. *lad*.
lēf B 'coverlet'. Psht.
† lagd 'owl, črāzyē'.
† lagge 'sinev'.
lugai B 'smoke'. Waz. *ḡgai*.
lik B 'to write'. B. inf. *hikécan*. Waz. *hkal*.
lik B 'to ascend, climb'. *az-al bu ikam, ikam al bu* I ascend, imper. *lik al* ascend, B *az al bu ikām*. Cf. Waz. *hikēdal*.
likie B 'tail'. Waz. *lukai* f.
likeyahā 'shooting star'. Cf. *hikiz*.
lakaṇḍin 'tail' (?). Cf. *hikiz*?
lakašiwie (B) 'Indian gazelle'. K *lakaš'wa*, Waz. *lakašinyē*. Psht.
lake 'spot' and 'sriwūt', cf. Av. *sra-* 'horn'.
lala 'to hang'. *az lalānu bu*, imper. *lala bu*. K. Waz. *lālēdal* intr.
lalān 'weeding'. *lalān bu kēn*. Waz. *lān*.
lēna (B) 'eyeball'. Psht.
lēna (B) 'snare'. Waz. *lina*.
lamba (B) 'flame'. Waz. *lamba*.
lambē 'swimming'. *lambē janam*.
† luncē 'hawk, ḡpās'.
lunsūi 'felt'. Waz. *lansai*.
luyd 'short'. Waz.
luydai 'low'. Cf. *luyd*.
lungai 'thigh'. Psht, cf. Waz. *lungya* 'leg'.
lira (B) 'guls'. Psht.
† lāyē 'board'. Psht.? But K *day'*, pl. *day'i*.
laydān B 'scorpion'. Waz.

- laynūn* (B) 'entrails'. Waz.
lēš 'beard of barley, etc.'. Waz. *lēšā*.
lašiti 'wooden cup'. Waz. *lāšiti*.
leuū B 'wolf'. Waz. *leu*.
leuār B 'husband's brother'. Waz. *leuār*.
lyērti 'lamb, lertī'.

M.

- mai* sg. and pl., B *maī* 'ewe'.
maī B 'fish', P's.
mēin 'handmill'. Waz. *mēin*. Palola (Dardic) *mēini* is borrowed from Psht., and supports the derivation of the Psht. word from Greek *μηχυρή*, proposed Acta Or. VII, p. 200. Cf. Alban. *makerr* id. < Greek.
maidūn (B) 'plain'. Waz. *maidūn*.
mayz 'marrow'. Waz.
mēk 'salt'. V. *n'mēk*.
makaṇḍin B 'neck'. Waz.
**mān* B 'husband'.
mohi 'pestle'. Waz. *mālai*.
maḷ? (B) *pāṭi maḷ a-xwān gāsk* 'my feet are tired (?)'.
milliy 'gun'. Turk.
miliz, mīlijē, B. *mīlē* 'apple'. L. *mīlē*, K *mīlē*.
mūn, in: *mēn-mēn* 'three days ago', *mēn byē-ryāz* 'three days hence', *mēn bi-can* 'three years hence'.
mināi B 'autumn'. Waz. *manai*.
manjēb 'nest'. Waz. *manzola*.
menākhā 'ray, mināka, xārāni'. K *manū*.
muqūh, B *muqūh* 'trunk of a tree, muqūh'. Psht. *muqūdar*.
muṡṡuḷū 'claw'. Waz. *muṡṡuḷ*.
muṡṡōr B, pl. *muṡṡari* 'snake'. Waz. *muṡṡār*.
murē 'throat'. Waz. *marai* f.
mēra 'plain'. Waz. *maira*.
murē 'slave'. Waz. *maryai*. But K *mirik* is genuine.
murēdi B, 'ant'.

mīrgə, pl. *mīrjī* 'sparrow'.

marzā B 'brother'.

marjəy, pl. *marjijī*, B *marjīy* 'frog, činčaxa, čingəsa'. K *marjəy*, pl. *marjəjī*.

marjind (B) 'wrist'. Waz. *marjindai*.

† *masəy* 'brain'. Pl. *masəy* 'brain, skull'. Av. *masəyən*.

Cf. Kakař Psht. *matəx* < **mašəy*?

mašəka 'beak'. Waz. *mašəka*.

mš m., sg. and pl. 'buffalo'. K. Waz. *mš*.

mša f., pl. *mšəy* 'buffalo'. K. Waz. *mša*.

mš B sg. and pl. 'fly'. K. *maš*.

mš B 'sun'. In *mš* cəm 'the disk of the sun'. L. *mš*, K. *mš*.

mutə 'to shampoo'. *mutəyən*. K. *mutəyək*.

mut (B) 'apricot'. K. Cf. Afidi Psht. *mutadā*.

ma (B) 'large earthen pot'. Waz. *mā*.

ma (B) 'fist'. Waz. *mā*. K. *mā*.

† *māxən* (B) 'roof-board'. Cf. Waz. *mā* 'pillar'?

matə, B *matə* 'mother'.

matəš 'large roof-beam, rafter'. Cf. *tešə*.

māx B 'we'. *māx yəka yə* 'we are dry'.

mēx 'nail'. Waz.

mēx B, 'locust, *māx*'.

mux, B 'face'. Prob. genuine. Waz. *max*.

muxə (B) 'to rub'. *muxən*. L. *mūxən-ək*, K. *muxən-yək*.

† *myləm* (B) 'root'.

myammyəyən 'peacock'. K. *myam + myəy*.

myāndən f. sg., pl. 'mare'. K. *myāndən*.

myāsa B 'mosquito'. Waz.

**mytə*: *mytə* (B) 'to loosen, untie'. *mytəyən* bu, *mytə* bu.

L. *mš*.

ma: *mašək* 'to break'.

mā 'prayer'. L. *mmāš*, K. *mmāš*.

mš 'table'. Psht.

mucə 'to spin, twist'. *mucəyən*, *mucəyən dək*. K. *mš-yək* 'to

be twisted'.

† *muzā* 'whet-stone'. Cf. Waz. *mūzā*, Psht. *mūzā*.

mučəy 'dwarf-palm'. Waz. *mučəyay*.

mučəy 'tiger'. Waz. *mučəy*.

mūz 'urine'. *ae bu mūz kən*. L. *mūz*.

mučəy 'pig'. Waz.

N.

n: *naslək* B 'to sit down'. *az nən*, *tu nē*. B *az bu nən*, *az naslək-am*.

nə 'to cause to sit down'. *to b-az nān*. L. *na(y)ək*.

nə, *nə*, B *nə*, *nə* 'g'.

† *načəy*, B *načəy* 'axe'. P's. *načəy*.

nyarəy (B) 'replaced'. Waz. V. *yā*.

nə 'wife'.

nike 'to sow'. *luxən al be nīkəyən*, *nīkəyən*. K. *nīkə-yə*

'to throw down, propel'. **nīkəyən*, cf. Psht. *kūz* 'low', *kūzaw*

'to cause to descend', Waz. *kiz*.

**nīkə* (B) 'salt', v. *nīk*.

nīn B 'nose'.

n'gūš, B *gūšə*, *nəgūš* 'finger'. L., K. *gūš*.

gūšəy 'finger-ring'. K. *gūšəy*.

nur pl. *nur*, B *nur* 'house'. *inur*, B *inur* inside.

nur-gy 'bull'.

nur 'to bellow'. *a-gy bu nur*. Waz. *nurəy*.

nūy B 'piece of bread'. L., K. *nūy*, Psht. *nuçay*, Waz. *nuçay*.

nšə, in *pe-nšə* B 'outside'.

nš 'soft'. K. *nəš*, L. *nəy*.

nšə B 'to crush'. *nšəyən*. *nšəyən dək*.

nəy (B) 'to put, place'. *nəyən*. K. *nəy*.

nəy-jəy '29'.

nəyən 'to take out'. *a-sə bu nəyən*.

nəçəy, B *nəçəy* m., *nəçəy*, B *nəçəy* f. 'grandson, granddaughter'.

Waz. *inçəy*.

nəslək (B) 'asleep, lying down'. *az nəslək-am*, *tu nəslək-e*,

nəslək-ə, *açə nəslək-a*, *max nəslək-yən*, *čəy nəslək-a*, *açə*

nəslək-in.

nāwaxi 'late'. P's.

† *naxk*, *naxī* B 'nail'. *pa naxī-m dok* I pinched. < **naxaka*, cf. Pshl. *nāh*, Par. *nōrk* etc.

nyāk 'maternal uncle'. K *nyāk*.

nyōw B 'new'. L *nīw*, K *nyīw*.

nōōr B 'daughter-in-law', *nōōr*.

P.

pa 'by, at'.

piē B 'father'. L *pē*, K *piē*.

pōē (B) 'understanding'. *pōē awasam*, *ayōkam* 'I understand, understood'. Waz.

† *pāi* f. 'a kind of bird', v. *dasaxīr*. 'Owl', cf. P's. *pūs*?

pē B 'distant'.

piēc, pl. *piēcī* 'honeycomb, piece'. Waz. *pyūsā*.

piččakī 'dung of goats and sheep'. Waz. *paččakī* f. pl.

pičānp 'foot-chain for horses'. Waz. *pēcūānē*.

pičāk B 'buttermilk'.

pal B 'millstone'. Waz. Prob. of Ind. origin, cf. Pashai *pal* 'stone used in a bow', Kshn. *pal* 'boulder' < Skr. *upala*.

pila (B) 'silk'. K *pēlā*. Pshl.

pul B 'bridge'. Waz.

pōm B 'wool'.

pēnāna (B) 'pieces of charcoal, *dwa drē skōra*'. (But Waz. *pēnōna* 'large basket'). Pshl. *paināna* 'a certain dry measure'.

pīn B 'honey, *gīna*, *gīnna*'. In *pīn niši* 'honey-bee, *yālāwzē*'.

pōn B 'roof'.

pōnda, B *pīnda* 'heel'. Waz. *pīnda*.

pēnj, B also *pēnz*, *pēnc* 'S'.

pamjēs B '15'.

pamjāsh B '50'.

pamjīshu, *yīshu* '25'.

pūpētē B 'calf of the leg'. Waz. *pūpāi* f.

pūndūk (B) 'pomegranate'. K *pūndūk*.

pūng B 'cock'.

pūngiē 'open field in the jungle'. K *pūngiē*. Waz. *pūngi* f. 'small plot of level land among the hills'.

pūngyāk 'butterfly, *lorigai*'. K *pūngyāk* 'moth'. Demin. of *pūng*?

parūi 'wing'. Waz. *par*.

pēri 'now'.

pērūn B 'yesterday'. *pērūn-inzūn*.

prasol 'last year'.

pērūn: *pērūnāk* 'to sell'. *pērūnūn-a bu*, *pērūnūn-a*. L. *pērūn*.

K *pērūn*: *pērūnāk*.

pūrūnāk (B) 'broom'. K. < **pārūnūpaka*, cf. P's. *rušan*, Bal. *rōpāg* to sweep, P's. *ja-rōb* 'broom', Afidi Pshl. *rēlōz* < **raupāci*.

Not connected with Yd. *pārūnāzō* 'broom for the treshing floor'.

pūrūx 'dew'. Waz. *pārūxā*.

† *pūrūcūn* B 'sieve (for powder)'. Par. *parūcūn* < **pūrūcūnānān*.

† *pārū* 'to roast'. *pārūn-a bu* 'warūnūn-a'. Pshl. only *pārūnūl*

'to charm, juggle'.

pārī B 'foot'. L. *pāi*, K *pārī*.

pārīē 'rope, *yāsa*'. Waz. *pārī m*.

pārūg (B) 'leopard'. Waz. *pārūg*, *pārūg*.

pārūnāk B 'trousers'. Waz. *pārūg*.

pūs, pl. *pūsi* 'cat'. L. *pūši*, K *pūs*, Waz. *pōsā*. Cf. *buill*.

pūsk B 'butter'. K.

pūska 'a dumb fart'. Pshl. *pūs*.

pūstēi (B) 'thin bread'. Prob. Pshl., cf. *pōst* 'solt, smooth, flat'.

pūsid B 'pistachio'. Pshl.

pūštīē 'ribs'. Waz. *pōštai* rib.

† *pūšī* B 'threshold'. < **pūštira* 'protection' (from evil spirits?) against enemies?)?

pūt 'upper part of the back'. K.

† *pūtū* 'saliva'. Onomatopoeic formation.

pūtira 'unleavened dough'. Pshl.

pāl, B *pālī* pl. 'leaf'. L. *pāl*.

pālī 'straw of maize'. Ind.?

pāl, B *pāl* 'forehead'. L. *pāl*, K *pāl*.

palakai 'turban'. Waz.

pūxa, pl. *puxai* 'leaf'. Waz. *paxa* 'leaf, feather'.

pūxai 'feather' (pl.?).

pyðz, *pyñz* (B) 'mouth'. L. *pðz*, K. *pyñz*.

pyāb 'cup'. Waz. *pyāba*.

R.

rai B 'road'.

ri contracted pron. I pres.

rā, B *rā* 'iron'.

raḡ 'vein'. Waz.

† *rāka*, pl. *rāti* 'oil, rīcā' < **rīśka*- (*iś* > *nś*, etc., cf. *spāti*), Pshl.

rāā, I pres. *rāśk* etc.

rān, B *rān* 'clarified butter'. K, L. *rān*, but Kaveri *rān*.

raññir 'sick'. K *raññir*. Waz. *raññir*.

raññā B 'brightness'. Waz. *raññā*.

ras 'cream, ras'. Waz. *raś*.

ras 'to spit', *raśin-a bu*.

rāḡi B 'brother's son'.

rāḡi B 'brother's daughter'.

rāwān, B *rāwān* 'fire'. L. *rāw*, K. *r'wān*.

rauwis, B *rauwis* 'fox, brōrā'. K.

rax, *a-rax* 'the truth'. L. *rāxa*, K. *rāx*.

rīzan B 'rice'. L. *rezan*, K. *rījan*. Cf. also Yaghn. *rijān* (lunker).

ryz, B *ryðz* 'day'. L. *rāḡi*, K. *ryñz*.

R.

† *ryj* 'smoke-hole, rōr' < **rōj* (cf. *ryz*), with metathesis from

Waz. *ryōr*?

ramb- 'to bathe', *rambān bu*. Waz. *lambādā*?

rðz 'porridge (made of water and grain)'. Waz. *rðz* 'adhesive paste'.

S.

s-: *syñk* B 'to become', *sēm*, *sa*.

su m, *syē* (šyē) f., B. *sif*, *šyē* 'I'. L. *šā*, K. *sā*.

sā 'a sigh'. Pshl.

sā, B *su* '100', B *dyḡ sa* '200'.

sabā B 'tomorrow'. Waz. *sabā*.

† *sāc*, pl. *sāc*, *sācī* 'a kind of bird, swarthē'. K *cāc* 'a kind of partridge'.

sāc, B *šāc* 'sanit'. K *sāc*. Waz. *šāc*.

sabā B 'hare'. K *sabā*.

sukā B 'porcupine, škoyā'. K.

**skan* 'dung of cows'. L. *skan*.

skāra B 'charcoal'. Waz. *skār*, pl. *skāra*.

† *sukar* B, pl. *mekf* 'horn'. Cf. Waz. *škar*, Pshl. *škar*, Wanechi Pshl. *šukar*. The Orm. word is poss. genuine, with *s* < *ś* < *sr* (Pshl. *ś* = *ś* would not become *s* in Orm.); but the *r* is difficult to explain.

**sif* (B) 'to be kindled'. *silecan* 'to kindle (?)'. *a-rwan silek-a*. L. *šilān*.

sila 'burnt brick'. Lhd. *silh*.

silgā 'hicough'. Pshl. *salgā*.

sam 'that'. Waz.

samā (B) 'a plain'.

sīm (B) 'needle's eye, syñi'. Waz.

samsarī 'lizard'. Waz. *samsārā*.

san B 'to-day'. L. *šān*, K. *cān*.

**sinī* B 'needle'. L. *šinī*.

**sun* B 'blood'. L. *šin*.

sinā 'small stream'. Waz. *sinā*.

sāndas B '11'.

sandāh 'box'. Waz. *sandāh*.

† *suñz*, B *šūñz* 'hip'. Pshl. *šūñ* (Bangash *xyñ*). Poss. genuine, cf. s. v. *sukar*.

suñdā, pl. *suñdā* 'tip'. K. — Pshl. *šūñdā*, Waz. *uñsūñdā*.

sōng 'spear'. Waz. *sōngā*.

spūn, B *spūn* 'white'. L. *spūn*, K. *spūn*.

spūn-zār B *spūn-zār* 'silver'.

spūn B, sg. and pl. 'louse'.

spuk, pl. *spūcī* 'dog'. K. *spuk*.

s'pāw 'ploughshare'. Waz. *sphora*.

† *spōx* B 'ember, *skawuā*.

† *spuāuk* B 'spleen'. Av. *spharzan*, etc.

sphōzmai 'moon'. Waz. *špēzmai*.

sar B 'head'.

str(c) 'quick'. *str wæti*. K *strā*.

sir, B *sirr* 'good'. K *šir(r)*, L *šir*. The derivation of Sak. *ššira*.

< Av. *srivā*. (Voc. Ojm.) is wrong.

† *sārdā*, pl. *sārdāi*. (B) 'smoke-hole'. V. *ričy*.

strelā 'kid, one year old'. Psh.

stāššinj, B *stira-spētwa* 'rainbow'. Waz. *šma-sra* lit. 'green-red'.

Kakap Psh. *sra-u-šma*.

sirwā 'soup'. L *širwā*; K *sirwā*. Psh. *šširwā*.

stir-zāi, B *zār* 'gold'. Waz. *sra-zar*.

sarui, B *sarui* 'man'. Waz.

sarā 'shawl'. Waz. *šarui*.

sisiu 'to neigh'. *sisiu*. K *sisiwēk*. Waz. *ššisiu*.

sāš B 'red'. L *šāš*, K *sāš*.

sir B 'big'. L *ustir*, K *sir*. Waz. *slar*.

slarāk, B *sirāk*, pl. *sirāi* 'star'. L *šlāra*, K *sirāk*.

slirāi B 'ired'. Waz. *slarai*.

† *styn* 'pillar, *muāa*'. Cf. Pres. *sūtin*, Psh. *slon* 'post' (but Psh.

slon etc. 'needle' < **scen* < **šūtin*).

sōlā B 'ear of maize'. Waz. *sēla*, *sōlā*.

sawijistu 'zi'.

sir 'straight'. Waz.

sawir 'morning'. K *sahar*.

srawandār m., pl. *srawandri* B 'young bull'. Waz. *sxtw(anda)r*.

srawandir f., pl. *srawandirui* 'young cow'.

syjy, pl. *syjyi*, B *sōy* 'grape'. K *syjy*, pl. *sayi*. < **sraḡu*?

syjy B *syjy*, *siŋy* 'husband's mother'. K *syjy*, pl. *sayadi*.

syāka, B *sika* 'shade'.

siegāi B 'hedgehog, *sega*'. Waz. *šōžgāi*.

sušmī (pl. ?), B *sphōmā* 'nosirī'. Psh. *sphašma*, *sašma*, *šmāš*.

šāi 'thing'. Psh.

Š.

šafatā (B) 'peach'. Waz. *šantolai*.

šupla (B) 'name'. Waz. *šupla* 'brightness'.

† *škau* 'cowpen'. Cf. Sangl. *škāš* < **šau-kau*, v. EVP. s. v. *kolai*.

† *šak*, B *šak* 'comb'. Cf. Bal. *šak* < **šinka* ('*phyo-go*')? V. Geiger,

El. Bal. 445, EVP. s. v. *šunaj*. (Wanachi *wžanj*).

† *škulak*, *pa škulak-an dōk* 'I pinched'.

† *škinj* 'adze'. < **skunduač*? Cf. Pres. *sikoma* 'auger, gimlet'?

škandaliē 'tortoise, *škandali*'. Waz. *škandali* f.

šōle 'unhusked rice'. Waz. *šēle*.

šin B 'blue'. Waz.

šengerrā, B *šāngarē* 'ankle'. Waz. *šangerrai*.

šipī B 'milk'.

špōl 'goats' pen'. Waz. *špēl*.

špōn 'shepherd'. Waz. *špōn*. But K *šwān* is genuine.

† *šar* 'to turn, walk'. *az bu šaram*, *šarīkum*.

† *šir* B 'wet, *hnd*'. Pres. *šōr* 'muddy water'?

šara 'a marsh'. V. *šar*. Pres. *šōra* 'salty marsh', Waz. *šōra* 'salt

or alkali in the ground'.

šaram 'shame'. Waz. *šārm*.

† *šōmī* 'play'. *az bu šōmī kēn*. Cf. Av. *slomai* 'fighting, quarrel'

(> 'competition'?).

šawān 'olive'. K *šawān*. Waz. *šawān*.

šawirakai 'bat, *de luāššim mawirai*'. K *šararāk*, L *šamparāk* (Pres.).

šwaya 'slippery'. *ō jāk-e šwaya*, *šwerykum* 'I slipped'. Waz.

šōr, *šwē* 'slippery'.

šara 'fight'. *šara yē b-kēn*. Cf. Waz. *šar* in the sense of 'en-

gaged in battle'.

šyū, B *šio* 'night'. L *šy*, K *šiu*.

šiza-gyōi 'cow'. Waz. *šōza* 'woman'.

Š.

šš, B *šō* '6'. L *šin*, K *šah*.

šām 'showing'. *daf šām kēn*. K.

šaisla (B) 'beautiful'. Waz. *šōisla*.

šawijistu '26'.

šwāds B '16'. L. *šāds*, K *šwāds* (prob. misprint, with *waw* for lam in the Qawā'id-e Dargista).

šwēšān, B also *šwēšā* 'Go'. L. *šāšān*, K *šwāšān*.

Š.

š'ī B '3'. L. *šō*, K *š'ē*.

š'tārk 'sinking'. K.

š'ārk 'gave'. *yūda* male *š'ārk* 'yūda me wērkā'. L. *š'ir*: *š'ārk*,

K *š'aw*: *š'ivāk*.

š'ak, pl. *š'rācī* B 'flea'. K.

† *š'in* 'to descend'. *š'inam al bū* 'kazāzīm', *az dād š'inikam*.

Connexion with Skt. *kram*- (*krānya*-) is improbable.

š'indl 'field-embankment'. K.

† *š'amand* 'threshing-floor, *darrand*'. **xram*-, cf. Prs. *xrāman*

'harvest, stack of corn', *xrām-gah* 'threshing-floor', Mj. *xrām*

id., Kati *k'rāmīcām* id., *k'rām* 'to thresh', Khowar *k'ram* id.,

š'amot 'forgetting'. *š'amot-am syāk*. K.

š'in: *š'īyek* 'to buy'. *š'inām yē bū*. L. *š'on*, K *š'in*.

š'ēs B also *š'īs* '13'. L. *š'ēs*, K *š'ēs*.

š'īsh B '30'. L. *š'īsh*, K *š'īsh*.

š'wījīsh '23'.

š'w- 'to weep'. *š'wam bū*. L. *š'ā*, K *š'aw*.

T.

tā B 'of'. V. *tār*.

tā B 'paternal uncle, *tā*'. K *tā*. Prob. genuine Orm. Cf. *tā*.

† *tān* 'steam'. Prs., or genuine?

tā B 'thou'.

† *tāf* 'sour, *tāf*'. < **tāf*sa-? Cf. E.V.P. s. v. *tāw*, cf. Mj. *tāf*sa, and,

poss., Russ. *trophij* etc.

tāk 'mountain torrent'. K. Cf. E.V.P. s. v. *tār*, and Lidén, Stud.

z. tocharischen Sprachgesch. 35 ('Iokh. *cake* 'river' < **tay*).

tāh 'hot'. K.

tāl 'to weigh'. *tālin-a bū* 'I weigh it'. Waz.

tādī 'palm of the hand, *tārdīcām*'. Psh. *tādī* 'sole'. Cf. *tārdīc*

tādī 'ank'. Waz. *tāh*.

tānd 'wet (field, ground)'. Waz. *tānd* 'damp, wet', Psh. *tānda* 'fresh, verdant'.

tāndar 'thunder'. Waz.

tāng 'narrow'. Waz.

tāng 'giraffe'. Waz. *tāng*.

† *tāngdī* 'sheaf of maize tied together with palm-leaves'. Psh.

tāng 'band, brace'.

tāpī, B *tāpī* 'buttermilk, *šāmlē*'. L. *tāpī*, K *tāpī*.

tā- (B) 'to drink'. *az dī b-wāk trīm*, *az bū a-wāk trīm*.

† *tā-* B 'aunt, *tār*'. **tāyā*? K *tār* < Psh. Cf. *tā*.

tār v. *tā*.

tār 'threat'. Prs.

tār (B) 'passed'. *tār cām* 'last year'. Waz.

tār (B) 'sword'. Waz. *tār*.

tārhar B 'paternal cousin'. Waz. *tārhar*.

tārā (B) 'father's sister's daughter'. Waz. *tārā*.

tārānk B, B pl. *tārānkī* 'thirsty'. *tārānk-tū*.

tārāp 'running'. *az bū tārāp kām*, *az bū tārāpām*, *tārāp dāk*. Waz.

tārāp B 'father's, or mother's sister's son'. Waz. *tārāp*.

tārāpī 'roof-beam'. Demin. from Waz. *tār* 'father'.

† *tārāyā* B 'darkness'. Borrow. from Psh. Cf. *tār* black, *tārā* darkness,

etc.; but the formation of the Orm. word is difficult to explain.

tārānā 'moonless night'. Waz. *tārānā*.

tār 'to bind'. *tārān-a bū*. Waz.

† *tās*, B *tās* 'spinning wheel'. < **cisak* < **cāstrika*, cf. Psh. *cāšā*,

Mj. *cāsa* etc.

† *tāsk* B 'space below the ribs'. K *tāsk* empty, cf. Psh. *tāšā* 'blank,

hollow above the hip'.

tāš B 'bitter'. L. *tāš*, K *tāš*.

tāf 'parrot'. Waz.

tāt 'mulberry'. Waz. *tāt*.

tāwā, B *tāwā* 'sunshine'. L. *tāā*, K *tāwā*.

tāwā B 'bread'. L, K.

tāwā B 'armpit'. Waz.

tāz 'fart'. K, Psh.

T.

- tak* 'to beat, card'. *takem*. L. Waz. *takawol*.
tām 'nest'. Ind.
ting 'hard'. *ting-am dōk* 'I tiel, fastened'. Waz.
tōp 'jump'. *tōp bu kēm*. Waz. *tōp*.
tōpiz 'hat'. Pshl.
tiq 'low'. Waz. *tiq*. Cf. K *tiq* *nūm-ryāz* 'about 3.30 p. M'.
tux 'to cough'. *tuxam bu*. Cf.
tuxiz 'cough'. *tuxiz kēm*. Waz. *tuxai m*.

W.

- wak* (*wak*) B 'water'. *a-waki* 'in the water', *in wak spak* 'other'.
 L. *wək*, K *wək*.
wiidi 'blade, shoulder'. Waz. *wida*.
wiila B 'willow'. Waz. *wulu*.
wiiliē B 'root'. Waz. *wuliyē*.
wun 'co-wife'. K.
wūm B 'reed'. Waz. *wuna*.
wūnk'ān (not *wūnzok*) 'son of a co-wife, *banzai*'. Cf. *wun*.
 † *wōr* 'guts, *brē*'. Cf. Av. *udara*, v. EYP. s. v. *brat*.
 K *wūnz* 'slave girl'. Pshl. *wūnyā*, which is not to be derived from
 **handaēi*- (v. EYP. s. v.), but from **bandaēi*.
wrai B 'ram, lamb'. Pshl.
wur: *wuryā* B 'to take'. *wuram-a ri bu* 'I take it, *ra w-ā-b-ē-xām*,
wuryāk-am-a ri 'yā *w-ā mē xisē*, *pēri-ra-b-wam* 'I take it now,
wōs yē ra-xām, *ā šā ri ra bu wōram* 'so *dā šāi dāxām*;
 B *az bu kiitāb wūram*. L. *wur*, K *w'r*.
wuryāw (B) 'palm of the hand' (v. *ladir*). Waz. *wuryawai*.
wuriē B cloud'. Waz. *wuryaz*.
wuriē (B) 'eyebrows'. Waz. *wuriyē*.
wurjē 'small, red louse'. Pshl. *wuriyā*.
wurkye *wurkye* 'slowly'. Waz. *wurē wurē*.
wurandēr 'brother's wife'. Waz. *wandāw*.
wurāši, B *wurāšio* 'moustache', L. *wurāši*, K *wurāšū*.
wuriyē 'guns'. Waz. *wurai f*.

- wūryā* 'late spring'. Waz. *wūyari*.
wūšō (B) 'large rafter'. Waz. *wūša*. Cf. *mowūši*.
wūš m, pl. *wūši*, *wūšō f*, pl. *wūšāši* 'camel'. Waz. *yis*.
wūšiliē (B) 'thin bread'. Waz.
wāk, B *wāk*, pl. *wākici* 'walnut'. K *wāk*, Waz. *maqāk*.
wōu: *wōk* 'to obtain'. *wōwam-a bu*. K *waw*: *wōk*.
wūndemini 'band that holds a sheaf together'. Waz.
waxa 'to dig'. *waxān-a bu*. K *waxay*. < Av. **ōpa-xad*.
wyōk, B *yōk* 'dry'. L. *wōka*, K *wyāk*.
wz B 'goat'. Waz. *wza*.
wzēti B 'shin-bone'. Waz. *wēzani*.
wzan (B) 'hide, skin'. Waz. *wēzan*.
wzan (B) 'to kill'. *wzanam*. L. *wēzan*, K *wzan*. Cf. Waz. *wēzan*.
wēzai, B *wēzē* 'ear of corn (B) wheat'. Waz. *wēzani*.
wūyeyu 'goat's wool'. Waz. *wūyayumiz*.
- X.
- xāi f*, 'cultivated field'. K *xai*.
xabura (B) 'news'. Waz.
xājura 'date'. Waz. *xājira*.
 † *xāko* B 'well, spring'. Av. *xan*, P's. *xā* 'sewer, sink'.
xāb B 'sweat'. Waz. *xāla*.
xōh 'cap'. Waz. *xēl*.
xālasa 'to release'. *xālasān-a bu*. Waz.
xanlāra 'leavened dough'. Waz. *xanlira*.
xani 'laughter'. *xani kēm*. K.
 † *xar* (B) 'rafter'.
xar m, pl. *xri* 'ass'. Waz. *xar*.
xri f, 'she-ass'. Waz. *xra*.
xarāb 'bad'. Waz. *xarōp*.
xurēncu, *xulēncu* 'right (hand)'. K *xurāncu*.
x'ānāk, B *x'ānāk*, pl. *x'ōnki* 'hungry'. L. *xrimak*, K *axwararak*.
x'ānūi, B *x'ānūi* 'mill-gutter'. K *x'iyānūi*. Cf. Par. *x'era* 'water-mill' etc.?
 † *xarphāndi* 'squirrel'. Pshl. *xarphāndi*.

† *xarxāē* 'ladder'. Psh. *xarxāl*.

xir 'brown'. Waz. *xir*.

xurūn 'to wink'. *a-ceni bu xurūnūn*. K *xururanyēk* 'to shake'.

xsir 'father-in-law'. K. V. *xōšāi*. Waz. *sxu*, *xwsu*.

† *xasāṭr* 'meal-porridge, *kir*'.

xōšāi (B) 'father-in-law'. Secondary formation from *xōšīē*. V. *xsi*,

xwōšīē.

xšini, B *xšiniē* 'husband's sister'. Waz. *xšina* 'wife's sister'.

xšīl B 'dried brick'. Waz. *xšila*.

xwui B 'self, own'. L *xui*, K *xwai*.

xwōb 'sleep, dream'. *xwōb yē b-jānēn*. K *xwōn*.

xwōr 'sister'. K.

xwōšīē, B *xōšīē* 'mother-in-law'. Waz. *xwōšyē*.

xwōš, B *xwaš* 'sweet'. K *xwōš*, L *xwōš*.

xwōšāwī 'sweetness'. K *xwōšāwī*.

† *xāž* 'to rub'. *xāžm-a*, *xāžīk*.

Y.

yā in: *yā mēn* *bvē ryāz* 'four days hence'. Cf. Waz. *yā bəl sabō*

'the day after the day after to-morrow'.

yām, *hām* 'raw'. K *hām*, L *xām*.

yāb. B *yābē* 'ashes'. K *yānak*.

yāšp, pl. *yāšpi*, B *yhlāšpi* 'horse'. L *yāšp*, K *yāšp*.

yās, B *yhlīz* m. 'bear'. K *hys*, L *xys*. *yē* is hort. from Psh.

The irregular preservation of *r* in *yās* is perhaps due to the influence of Prs. *xirs*.

yēscak, pl. *yēšēi* B 'tear'. K pl. *hencū*. Prob. *yēsc-ak* < **asruči* + secondary *ak*.

† *yēšēi* 'entrails, guts'. < **andhya-*. Skr. *andhā*.

yūwīē B 'plough'. Waz. *yūwīē*.

yax B 'ice'. Prs.

yēz B f. 'she-bear'. Waz. *yēzā*. V. *yīs*.

Z.

z- 'to arrive'. *aw-zēi*. L *zēy*, K *j-*.

za-: *zēk* 'to ask for'. *az di b-e zām*, *az di zēk-a*. L *zāy*, K *zay*.

zā 'pus, matter'. Waz. *zāwa*.

zān (B) 'tongue'. K.

**zāst* B, *jāsp* 'span'. L *jūsp* < **wihšpi*, Av. *vilasō*. Cf. p. 118.

zīy B 'yoke, *ēy*'. Waz. *ēy*.

zyw (B) 'armour'. Waz. *zyra*.

zī B 'heart'. K.

zāl B 'old'. K.

zīkak (B) 'kidney'(?). Cf. *zīh*, and *yūkak*.

zīzila 'earthquake'. Waz. *zēzila*.

zabūnēy (B) 'grandmother'. V. *zāl*.

zāpīē (B) 'grandfather'. K. — V. *zāl*.

zūn B 'son-in-law, *zūn*'. Waz. *zūn*.

zāmba B 'jaw'. *ta zāmba gas*. K *zām*. Waz. *zōma*.

**zīnak*, B. *zīnnak* 'winter'. L *zōmb*.

zāi B 'bowstring'. Psh.

zānē B 'chin'. Waz. *zānē*.

zūn, B *zū* 'saddle'. Waz. *zūn*. Cf. Om. Garam. § 31.

zānē 'crane'. Waz. *zōnē*.

zēy, B *zay* 'small'.

zār, *i-zār* (B) 'oil'. *az bu a-kūāb a mēz i-zār mēum*. L *jēr*, K *i-zār*.

zār '1000'. v. B *hazār*. K *zay*. Prob. genuine.

zay 'porridge, *zarka*'. K *zay*. Cf. E.V.P. s. v. *zarka*.

zyr B 'yellow'. Waz.

zyš, pl. *zyšēi* 'thorn'. L *zēš*, K *zēš*.

Z.

z-: *hatak* (B) 'to leave'. *zēn-a bu*, imper. *zōn*; *hatak-a*. L *z-*:

zūnak, K *z-*: *hatak*.

zayē 'shouting'. *zayē bu kēm*. Waz. *zay*.

zāt B 'nail'. Waz. *zālai* f.

† *zayšāwī* 'cluster of grapes'. Psh.

'PASHTO', 'PATHAN'
AND THE TREATMENT OF *R* + SIBILANT
IN PASHTO

In a letter dated 7. October 1937 Dr. Paul Tedesco mentioned to me that already before the publication of my 'Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto' (1927) he had, in a work on the 'Dialectal Position of Örmuri'—which has unfortunately remained unpublished—drawn attention to not only the transition of *rs* into *šd* in Pashlo,¹ but also the parallel change of *rs* into *št*, which had not been recognized by me. As Dr. Tedesco's present address is unknown to me, I have taken the liberty to mention this discovery of his without getting his express permission to do so.

When I received Tedesco's letter, I had already arrived at the same conclusion as he, but several years after him. The examples given by Tedesco were: 1) *puščdal*, Waziri *puštal* 'to ask': P's. *pusidan*. This derivation is more satisfactory than the one given by Geiger² and in BVP,³ from a noun **pušti*. Besides, *rs* results in P'sht. *š*, v. BVP, p. 42. Cf. also *puščana* 'question' < **pusanā* (cf. Skt. *pyśana* 'flight', &c.). 2) *taščedal* (also *tšd*) 'to flee': P's. *tawšidan* 'to fear'.—In this case, too, Geiger and BVP, had proposed a denominative derivation from Av. *tawšti* 'fright'. But Waziri *taščad* < **tštan*: *taš* 'fled' < **tštan*-³ with its highly irregular *t* in

the present stem, but not in the preterite,¹ shows that we have to do with a purely phonetical development. 3) *wəšče* 'hair': Sogd. *wrs*, Av. *warsa*.—P'sht. *ē* possibly points to a derivation from **warsya*. 4) *puštal* 'rib': Saka *pāšua*, cf. Av. *parsu*. This derivation is more satisfactory than Darmstadter's from Av. *paršti* 'back', or Geiger's from a supposed Av. **paršti* = Skt. *prsthi* 'rib'.

5) Less probable is Tedesco's suggestion that *špištai* 'spoke' might perhaps be a 'Waziri' form for **špištai*, cf. Saka *pāšua* also 'spoke' (*ysara-wāšua* 'having thousand spokes'). Apart from the fact that Bawerty and Bellew, our only sources for the P'sht. word, both have *št*, the initial *šp*-renders a derivation from **prsu*-unlikely. *špištai*, with assimilation < **spištai*, might go back to **spis-taka*, cf. Middle Low German *speisse* 'long spear', < **spoid-tā*? German *Spieß*, &c. 6) Very uncertain is also *spēšča* 'peritonenn': Av. *sparzan* 'spleen',² with irregular *št* instead of *šd*. Cf. possibly Skt. *sparśin* 'touching'?

At any rate Tedesco's rule seems to be firmly established, and other instances may be given. Thus: *yōš* 'millet' (F'anicum italicum): P's. *gārcas(t)*, Yidgha *gawarso* (q. v.); *buščdal* 'to stick, cling': *buščana* 'hog' < **hem-prs*, cf. Skt. *pyśana* 'clinging to'; *kōšča* 'matted, entangled hair'³ < **ku-darsa*, Yd.-Mj. *lrs*, *lurs* 'goat's hair' < **alrsan*, not **darsa*, cf. Sindhi *dās id.*; + pejorative prefix *ku*- (as in *kumay* 'faded': Saka *mur* 'to fade').

The only instance of Ir. *rs* corresponding to P'sht. *š* is *wəšči* 'hungry': P's. *gurs*, &c. But in this word *rs* has been changed into *rs* through the influence of *təšči* 'thirsty' < **tš*. Cf. the parallel development in Yidgha *wəščiyo*.⁴

¹ But *puštal* has received the regular *t* in the past stem: *mo wu-pušta* 'I inquired'.

² Walle-Pokorny II, p. 655.

³ Covered by the peritonenn; Ted.—P'sht. *tərai* 'spleen' ('the black one') is a secondary name, cf. semantically, e.g., Torwali *šam*, Paloh *šm*.

⁴ Muhammad Gul, Muhammad, Pašči Sind, Kābul, 1316.

⁵ Indo-1r. Front. Laungagen II, p. 82.

¹ Cf. EVP, p. 42.

² Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghaniischen, p. 19.

³ For *š* < *rs*, v. below.

Psh. *št* does also represent ancient **rsł*, e.g., in *calcešł* '40'; *yašłal* 'to twist' < **gurt* + *la*.

Words of uncertain etymology containing *št* are:

cašłan 'master, husband', Afr. *šaxlan*, Khushhal Khan *tešłan*, Khair-ul-Bayān, Orn. L.V. *lašłan*, Waz. *lašłan*, &c.¹ — Acc. to Andreas = *Cašłana*, the name of the renowned Kāratrapa king in W. India. — The suffix *-au* is known from other IE. words denoting a 'chief', 'leader', Gothic *hriudans* 'king', Greek *κοίρανος*, &c. The stem must be Ir. **čars(t)*- or, possibly, **čarsł*-. But I can suggest no plausible etymology.

čurnušłai 'lizard' (Prs. *šiland*), acc. to Pšt. Sind. — Possibly 'greedy for worms', < **kyuni* 'worm, insect' and **uym-ki* 'hungry', with regular treatment of *rs* (cf. *wažai* above)?

luwašłai, *grušłai*, *uwašłai* 'almond' (Pšt. Sind). — Possibly *luwašłai*, *grušłai* < *(*gari*)-*šursu*-, but etymology unknown.

našłajul 'to wring, squeeze', Waz. *nišładul*, *nišłazul*; Pšt. Sind *wašłezul*, *nšezul*. — Possibly **niš-raičajya*-, cf. Prs. *rāxtan* 'to pour out', Bal. *princay* (**pati-rinč*) 'to squeeze out'?

suwašłai 'shuttle' (Pšt. Sind). — Derivation from **us-uwašłuka* from **uwał*- 'to turn' is a mere phonetical possibility.

rišłigul, *rišłigul* 'truth', &c. — Cf. EYP, s. v. *rišłimui*.

lašłai 'rod, stick'. — Borrowed from a Dard form corresponding to Panj. *lašłai* 'stick'. V. EYP, s. v.

suwašłan 'hot ashes, cinder'. — Possibly < **us-uwašłana*-, cf. Lith. *sošlā* 'to burn without a flame', Lett. *swēlne* 'glow', &c.

wašłke 'hill rice', sg. *wašłai*. — Derivation from **uwašłai* (**uwašł* 'to grow') is devoid of value.

wa/ušłai 'joke, jest'.

¹ Pāšō Sind distinguishes between *cašłan* 'husband' and *cašłan* 'master', but these may be dialect variants.

The treatment of *rs* + sibilant in Psh. may be summarized in the following way:

rsł, *sr*, *šr*, *slr*, *šlr* result in *š*: *išai* 'left, dropped' < **hyšlaka*;
āšai 'tear'; *našłajul*, *nš* 'to squeeze' < *niš-raič* (?); *uwašł* 'grass' < *uwašru*; *nš* 'cancel'.

rs, *rsł* (and *ašł*?) result in *šl*.

š, *rsš*, *rs* (?) result in *š*: *yoaš* 'ear'; *yaš* 'bear'; *uwašl* 'neck' <

Av. *-mora* + *awē* 'sweet' < **xiourza*.

rs usually results in *šd*: *šdan* 'millet': Prs. *arzan*, *šdan* 'I place, leave' < **hyšimui*.

The remarkable transition of *rs* > **rsł* and of *rs* > **rsd* must be due to a differential oxygentation of the dental element in the consonant groups, in order to avoid assimilation and coalescing with original *rs*, *rsł*. At a later date *rsł*, *rsd* could not, however, resist the general tendency towards assimilation of all groups with *r*, and changed into **rsł*, **rsd*, from which *šl*, *šd*. At that time ancient *sl* had already moved towards *l* (in *ata* '8', &c.), and *rsł* had lost its dental occlusion, merging with ancient *sr* and *slr* into **ss* > *š*. This secondary *š* (*š*) was kept apart from original intervocalic *š*, which had early been sonorized into *ž* > *ž*. Also *rs* was sonorized into *rsž* (retained in the Wanisi dialect, e.g., in *yirž* 'bear'), from which *ž*. I am unable to explain why *rs* in some words results in *žd*, in others apparently in *ž* (Wan. *rsž*). Cf., however, the possibly parallel development in Sanglichi: *waždūk* 'long' (Psh. *nšd*) < *byzat* (or *hyz*)-*ut-ka* ?; *uwašłan* 'millet', Prs. *arzan* (possibly, however, *-rzn* > *ždn*); but *awašłok* 'sweet'; *pež* 'to wrap' < **patidarz*.

There is one group of Psh. words with *šl* which have not been dealt with above, but which are of special interest.

The name of the language of the Afghans, *Pāšō*?, and the word *Pāšłan*, pl. *Pāšłana* 'Pathan' have been discussed EYP, p. 61. The old comparison with *Háxreg* is here rejected, chiefly on pho-

¹ EYP, I, p. 320.

² Also *Pšō*, *Pšō*.

netical grounds.¹ The derivation suggested, from Av. *puršta-* 'back', Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha-* 'top, height', ascribing to *Paštān* the meaning 'hill-man', or 'prominent', must be dismissed because, as we have seen, *ṛšt* results in Psh. *ṣ*, not *ṣt*. According to Raverty² *ṛṣṣ*, *ṛṣṣ(ṣ)* is the name of 'the supposed seat of the Afghan tribe in the Waziri country', but the forms without *t* may easily be secondary.

Already Marguart³ mentions the possibility of connecting *Paštā*, *Paštān* with *Παγοστῆται*, *Παγοστῆται* (**Παγοστῆται*?), the name of a tribe, which, according to Ptolemy, lived in the country of the Parnisadae. But it is impossible to identify the *τ* in this word with the dental stop in *Paštān*, -*τᾱ* being a common suffix in tribal names.

Tedesco, in his letter, compares the name of the Persians, *Pārsā*, and he draws attention to some special resemblances which he is inclined to believe exists between Persian and Pashto. I have not been able to detect any such isoglosses of any importance, and the one instance adduced by Tedesco, viz. the parallel development of *štr* in O. Pers. *śša-*, Psh. *ṣṣ* 'canal', must be considered in connexion with the treatment of such groups in other E. Ir. dialects. But, even if there is no special linguistic connexion between Pashto and Persian, the tribal names may, of course, be related. Parallels might easily be adduced from other Indo-European peoples of the same name denoting widely scattered tribes.

Tedesco has certainly not intended to regard the elements *pašt-* and *pārs-* as absolutely identical. As remarked by Herzfeld⁴ *Pārsā* is probably a vriddhi form derived from an older **paṛsua-* and connected with the name *Pārsu(u)*, which in Assyrian and Babylonian texts denotes the Persians.

The identification is, however, rendered still more probable by the fact that we find *Πιόγορι* as the name of an East Iranian tribe.⁵

¹ Similarly Marguart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran*, 2, p. 177.

² Dictionary of the Pukhto, &c., now ed., p. 1113.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ *Altperische Inschriften*, p. 94 n.

⁵ E.g. in Ptolemy. V. Marguart, op. cit., p. 178.

Tarn, in his important work on 'The Greeks in Bactria and India' has dealt at length with this people.¹ He thinks it probable that they are identical with the Pasiuni who took part in the conquest of the Bactrian kingdom together with Asii, Tochari and Sacarauli, that they originally came from Khwarizm, advanced together with the Sakas to Seistan, but branched off towards Arachosia, Ghazni and Kabul, where they founded a kingdom soon after 100 B.C.

It is not on account of the name necessary to believe, with Tarn, that the Parsii 'doubtless spoke a form of Persian', and not a dialect related to Saka, but, apart from this, his account of the Parsii fits in very well with what we know about the early history of the Afghans. Their original home extended from Arachosia and the Helmund to the Sulaiman Mountains and to Ghazni-Kabul. They must certainly always have been an important people, and their language is most closely related on the one hand with Saka, on the other with Munji-Yidgha, a dialect which at one time went further north and west in Badakhsan.² If, as supposed by Tarn, *Śpaṭakora*, *Śpaṭagadama* and *Śpaṭirīṣi* were kings of the Parsii, *śpaṭa-*, which must undoubtedly represent Ir. *spāda-* 'army', would belong to a dialect having *l* < *-d-*, and the only language south of the Hindukush presenting this peculiarity is Pashto.³ Perhaps also Psh. *mēṭan* (Palola LW. *mēṭini*) 'hand-mill' < **mēkani*, which must have been borrowed from Greek *μύχανη*,⁴ but is not found in any other Ir. language, may have been taken over from the Greeks of Kabul. Phonetically *Paštō* would go back to **paṛsuwā*, a fem. adjective: 'the Pārsu' (sc. language). The primary stem *Pārsu* is preserved in *Pašt*, and *Paštān* is derived from **Pārs(u)wāna*, cf. *Pasiuni* and other ethnic names in -*āna*. The change of *rs* > *ṣt* must be relatively early, since a transitional form **Paštān*, *oṣn* has been introduced

¹ Pp. 281, 292 sqq., 302, &c.

² V. 1171, 11, pp. 7, 95.

³ *Śpaṭirīṣi* 'Army-destroyer', cf. Av. *raēš-* 'to injure, hurt'?

⁴ *Śpaṭaka-dama* 'Dominating the army'?

⁵ Cf. Latin *machina*, id., Albanian LW. *mōkerr*. V. A.O. 7, p. 200.

into Indian border-dialects of an archaic type in the form **Paṣṭhāna*, from which modern Indo-Aryan *Paṭhān*.

According to Paṇini, V, 3, 117 *Paṣṭu* is the name of a warrior tribe, probably in the North-West, and its leader is called *Paśava*.¹ And in Vart. Br. Samh. 14, 18 *Paś(a)śava* is the name of a tribe south-west of Madhyadeśa. It is possible that we have to do here with the same tribal name.² But if this tribe was settled on the borders of India already in Paṇini's time, it cannot be identical with the invaders from the North of Iran dealt with above. Jarn³ thinks that the *Paśus* may have been kinsfolk of the *Paśii*, 'a deposit from one of the earlier invasions', and this is perhaps possible.

¹ Cf. also Paṇ., IV, 1, 177, Vart. 2.

² Albertini, India, Sachau's transl. I, 302 identifies *Paśava* with the Persians.

³ Op. cit., p. 232.

THE STORY OF AN AFRIDI SEPOY

The dialects of Pash-to are only very imperfectly known, and few specimens of texts have been published. Apart from the material given in the LSI., the only dialect texts known to me are MALYON's, 'Some Current Pash-tu Folk Stories'¹ and HOWELL's short 'Border Ballads of the North West Frontier'². The Bannu ballad and riddles, supplied by THORNTON and printed by DAMSTEREY³, contain very few true dialect forms, and the Wanetsi tales which I have published⁴, belong to a dialect which stands apart from the ordinary Pash-to type.

Among these texts the important dialect of the Afridis is represented only by a translation of the Parable and a quite short story in the LSI., — neither of them very correct —, and by the four tales published by MALYON. Unfortunately the Persian script which he employs, very effectively conceals most of the important characteristics of the dialect.

In a volume dedicated to a scholar whose contributions to the historical study of Pash-to have been of such outstanding value, the publication of a specimen of the Afridi dialect may therefore, perhaps, not be out of place. Apart from its linguistic interest the present text will, it is hoped, give a picture of the life of a young Afridi under varying circumstances.

That is the reason why I have chosen this story, although it was taken down at an early date of my first stay in Peshawar, where I was making linguistic investigations on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. My knowledge of spoken Pash-to and its dialects was at that time very limited, and details, especially as regards the pronunciation of vowels, may easily have

¹ MASI, III, 6.

² JKAS., 1907.

³ Ghazte populars des Afghans. Appendice.

⁴ Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, IV, 170 sqq.

escaped my notice. I have, however, preserved the original notation, even when it is inconsistent.

The narrator, Akbar Shah, a Kambar Khel Afridi from the village Wuli Khel in Tirah, stayed in winter as a labourer in Peshawar, and in a few cases¹⁾ his language shows traces of Peshawari influence.

The Afridi dialect belongs, as is well known, to the North-Eastern, or 'hard' Pashto, which changes *g* and *z* into *x* and *g*. Within this group it is more closely connected with the Bangash and Orakzai dialects, than with those of the Yusufzai-Mohmand type, or with north-eastern Ghilzai.

But it is far from being uniform, the dialect of each clan presenting special features. The Adam Khels in the hills between Peshawar and Kohat do not speak a true Afridi dialect, and the same seems to be the case with the Kuki Khels near Fort Jamrud.

Among the clans of Tirah the Zakha Khels, owing to their geographical position, are more exposed to influence from outside than the Mulidin (*Maldin*) and Kambar Khels, whose dialects are nearly identical.

I shall mention here a few characteristic features only of the Afridi dialects.

(Corresponding to ordinary Psh. 'ā' the Afridis (with exception of at least some Adam and Kuki Khels) pronounce a rounded, long sound, noted here ā²⁾. A similar sound is found among (D)akzais, Bangashes, and many Khataks; while among the Bannuchis and Waziris it has been narrowed into *ō*.

In all these dialects, however, ordinary Psh. 'ā', and 'ō' are kept apart. Waziris and Bannuchis palatalize the 'ō' into *ō̄*, or even dehisibilize it into *ē*, and among the Bangashes it has been narrowed into *ō̄*. In the typical Afridi dialects of the Kambar and Mulidin Khels the sound corresponding to 'ō' is a mixed, rather high, and not very strongly labialized *ō̄*. In a few words³⁾ I noted *ā*, and the obl. pl. in 'ō' was frequently shortened into *-o*, and not becoming *-ō̄*.

The Waziri and Bannuchi development of 'ā' into *ī* (cf. *ō̄* > *ē*) is not found in Afridi⁴⁾. But the lengthening of 'ā' to *ā̄* (*ā̄s* '10'), and the appearance of *ē* for 'ā' (*Spēg* '6') are common, although the conditions determining these changes have not been found out.

¹⁾ E. g. once *zmā* „my", for (*d*)*emā*.

²⁾ But after *y* the *ā* is preserved: *iyār* „round".

³⁾ *Lakōr*, *kōfā*, loanwords?

⁴⁾ Perhaps Afr. *ā* is pronounced slightly in front of Peshawari *ā̄*. *widā* = *widā* (< **hu/ta-*) „asleep" is a special case.

It is of interest to note that the tribes whose dialects exhibit these vowel changes, are identical with those which, according to Afghan tradition, are descended from Ghorghushie and Karān, not from Kais Abdur-Rashid, the ancestor of Durranis, Ghilzais, Kakars, Tairis, Yusufzais, Mohmands etc.

In these „Ghorghushie Karān" dialects, which occupy a continuous area in the southern part of the North West Frontier Province, we also find a tendency to develop *a* to between a velar consonant and a labialized, velar vowel¹⁾. And in the same dialects the termination of the 2nd pl. is 'ō'²⁾. (e. g. Afr. *yā* „you are"), not 'āi'.

Finally I shall mention the Afridi forms -*am* (= *mā*), enclitic pronoun 1st pl., and the pronominal adverb 1st sg. or (*arā* „to me"). But with verbs we find *rā* (ord. Psh. *rā*), e. g. *rāwram* „I bring" 3).

1. Pa Prāns ēc wum pā san ēwāda (nunus sawa cwarlas) kē, mug pā lām kāl wū. Zā ēc mārā³⁾ la wu-ēstādon, na pā aya bānde mū pā kē you kāl jagra wu-krala. (‘e-bai kāl rūjū, san pambā kē zmā pū pā mārā ke xarūpe āwālē. Pa kē yax wu pā obā kē, na dāye pūx mē xarūpe āwālē.

2. Na emā kanēl sūlah mū la u-wayal ēc: „Tā aspotāl la hā sūl!" (I mē wēta u-wayal ēc: „Zā ārz kam ēc za bakul dā mārā na na dūmum aspotāl la. Wo za dār xwasāl yim pā warā ke."

3. No mū dīw kālā jagra pā kē wu-krala. Pa aya bānde kanēl sūlah pā pūfāna pālēm (u-wān) krala. Na pa de xahara ke kanēl sūlah you ārz u-ko (arzi u-krala) ēc: „Dāse spān ātā lāi, ēc pa dē mārā bānde

1. When I was in France in the year '14 (1914), we had gone to war. When I arrived in the trenches, I fought there for one year. When the next year came, in '15, my feet got bad in the trenches. It was cold there in the water, and my feet got bad.

2. Then my colonel said to me that I should go to the hospital. But I answered: „I beg to state that I do not at all want to go to hospital from the trenches. I feel very happy in the trenches."

3. Then I fought there for three years. On one occasion the colonel paraded the whole regiment. And he said to us: „Are⁴⁾ there any (such)

¹⁾ Afr. *gwāl* „flower", *kwālā* la „to the house".

²⁾ The distribution of the forms in -*ai* does not concern us here.

³⁾ Ordinary Psh. *rāwram*, with *r* from the preterite.

⁴⁾ First: *wārdā*.

⁵⁾ *āta* dat. is frequently used as a plural.

ywa ambliä wu-ki po xpuäo xuäixane ära ?" Na mü wërta u-weyel êc: „Säh, you xu za yim." O you Gülbär nama you daxwudär wu, äya wu-wël êc: „You bo za drümom dö ambliä dopäru."

4. You säb wu, êc äya Gargri säb, wu: äya wu-wë êc: „Za-m drümom, yonö mörêd na drümom darxas bände." Pa dö ke mug yo pinjas kasa äpin bräbar äwalü.

5. Na mugä po äya mörëu ke ambliä wu-krola pa äjarmününö bände. Äy zoi ke mug êc ambliä wu-krola, dö äy zoi nämü Bëätün. Na mü la säb wu-wël êc: „Ja wënde jäf ät taläsi wäxla." Na za êc läpalam, pa äy zoi ke êc wëräyolam, na äjarmünün äpin näst wü po mörêd ke. Na po dö ke äjarmünün¹⁾ war bal krai wu.

6. Na za wërta yuhä äwalam. Mü kutal êc pa äzäzê ke êti paxawulö. Na za pastana rüyalalam, paf paf. Ne mü Gargri sähab la wu-wäyel êc: „Co äpin widö äwi dö o you äpög" kasa äpin pa mörêd näst-i, êti paxawü." Na Gargri säb döer xwaäli äa.

7. Na mü wërta wu-weyel êc: „Wos dö ambliä waxt däi, wëli êc zani äpin widö dö ou zani äpin po mörêd ke näst wi, êti paxawü." Wo orta ö wu-wäyel êc: „Tayär äö, wo ywa ambliä be kawü."

soldiers who will volunteer to attack this trench ?" I answered: „Sahib, I for one am willing." And there was a dafadar²⁾, (DURUMAK by name, who said: „I will take part in the attack."

4. There was an officer whose name was Guegony Sahib. He said: „I, too, will go; that is, I volunteer for the attack on the trench." In this manner we got ready some fifty men.

5. Then we made an attack on the Germans in that trench. And the name of the place where we made the attack was Bëthune. Then the sahib said to me: „Go ahead, and reconnoiter." Now, when I went, and came to that place, the German soldiers were sitting in the trench. And they had made a fire there.

6. When I had gone there, I saw that they were boiling tea in a kettle. Then I came back, stealthily. I reported to Guegony Sahib that some soldiers were asleep, and some six soldiers were sitting in the trench, boiling tea. And Guegony Sahib was very pleased.

7. I said to him: „Now is the time for attacking, because some of the soldiers are asleep, and some are sitting in the trench, boiling tea." And he said to me: „Make ready, and let us make an attack."

¹⁾ Ikendi - äna ? Always *Jarmünün*, not -än.

²⁾ A cavalry non-commissioned officer. Note the substitution of *zw* for the foreign sound /.

8. Na po dö ke êc pa bände wër-am ambliä wu-krola, na dö äyo äjarmününö äsra yo äpi wu êc äya äpi wä-pöpêdö. Na mug po xpuä zre ke xayäl wu-ko êc: „Awäl dä, äpi wulä, o biyä tö pas na äjarmünün wulä." Na êc war-küz säwli mörêd na, na you äjarmünün topäk orta r-w-axslo; na ma wërta wu-weyel êc: „Mä däz wu-näkä¹⁾." Wo äy êc däz ar-bände wu-ko, na dänt e dwärs wulä mäs wu-lagêdö, o guliä dänt po xäja ke päte äwala.

9. Na mü la Gargri Säb wu-weyel êc: „Ja pastana jäf äti." O mü wërta u-weyel êc: „Za na äom talalai, wëliê êc za saxt zaxmi äsawi yam, wo xügügüm." Na säb mü la wu-wëyel êc: „Za be läla dwa kasa äpan döer-kam. Na äya be lä pa äti ki, o lä be u-hosi." Na äpino za p' äti kralam. Na äya sähib mü la dwa kasa näkär rë-kral, wo za ö pa dätiê ke w-äcawulam.

10. Na po dö wäza bände za Rüin äspatäl la rüyalalam. Na po Rüin äspatäl ke you taläb sähib wu, êc äy mü la u-weyel êc: „Za be dö lä na guliä u-bäsam." O mü wërta u-weyel: „Êc mü na yë u-bäse, na zar yo u-bäsa."

11. Na ätta ke yo biäli wä, êc äya la yë za yöwalam. O po äya kö yo biäli wu êc äya wu-wël êc: „Äya wäpai döer kamzäni äwäi däi, o

8. And then, when we made the attack on them, those Germans had a dog, and that dog started barking. Then we thought in our hearts: „Let us first shoot this dog, and afterwards we can shoot the Germans." But when we came down into the trench, one German soldier aimed his rifle at me. I said to him: „Don't fire at me!" But he fired at me and hit me between both shoulders, and the bullet stuck in my belly.

9. Then Guegony Sahib told me to go back. But I said to him: „I cannot go, because I am badly wounded, and feel pain." Then he said to me: „I shall give you two soldiers, who can take you on their backs, and carry you away." Then the soldiers took me on their backs. The sahib told off two soldiers to take me and put me on a stretcher.

10. Now for this reason I came to the hospital in Kouen. And in the hospital in Kouen there was a doctor sahib who said to me: „I shall take the bullet out of you." And I said to him: „If you are going to take it out of me, then do it quickly."

11. In the hospital there was an X-ray apparatus²⁾, and he brought me there. And there was a babu there who said: „This boy has be-

¹⁾ *na* instead of *ma*.

²⁾ Literally: lightning, electricity.

ka wos yē pə gulā pso xēla wu-cirā, na dā bo mar āi." No aya zai kə sūhibāns ari jorga wu-krāla. Pu jorga kə dā xahura wu-krāla ē: „Dā apāi malik la wu-ligū, o ēo o dā pə xēla kə gulā wos prala dī, dā apāi ēe tandrost āi, na be biyā dā dā xēla be wu-cirā.”

12. Də ēpēg myēšō six-ras¹⁾ (šūpī) molā āwala. Na za kwāle la rāplalam. Špēg myēšō pas pə kwālo kō lōrē krolō, pu mweripul ke. Biyā pa wulan ke mī la xalk wu-wuyel ē: „Sūhibāns tū na gulā wēlo n'wu-basula?” Na mī wēta u-wuyel ē: „Dā gulā damā pa xēla kə isāra šiwā.”

13. Na pə wulan ke you tabib wo ēe Sēd Gul nām ye wo, ēo ay la xalk u-wuyel ē: „Də day na gulā pa xā sān s'ra u-bāsa. O dā u-weyel ē: „Za dā sarkār dōxmān yim, wo day Akbur Šāh dā sarkār nukarī kriye dā; zaka day Akbur Šāh na gulā na u-bāsan.”

14. Na damā plār ēe wu, malak wu, xalko la ē u-wuyel ē: „Damā zwī cə kasār krai dāi, ēe dāse Sēd Gul gulā na u-bāsa?” Xalko u-wuyel ē: „Ja dā aya pēre subar kawu, ēe mug wēl²⁾ ari jorga wu-kū.”

15. Na dayu xalk, dā apingri wo šoribadārān, day wērpāl Sēd Gul la dī¹⁾ u-wēl ē: „O malak zwī Akbur Šāh gulā wēlo na biāse?” Na ay

come very weak; and if we cut open his stomach now in order to find the bullet, he will die.” Now in that place the sahibs took counsel together, and decided: „Let us send this soldier back to his own country, although (because?) the bullet still remains in his stomach. When he has recovered, we can operate on him.”

12. I got six months' sick-leave, and came home. Afterwards I spent six months at home, in the hospital²⁾. In my country people asked me: „Why did not the sahibs extract the bullet from you?” I told them: „The bullet had not settled down in my stomach; but I hope that it may have done so by now.”

13. In my country there was a doctor whose name was Sayd Gul. And the people said to him: „Extract the bullet from him neatly.” But he said: „I am an enemy of the Government, and this Akbar Shah has served the Government. Therefore I will not extract the bullet from him.”

14. My father, who was a headman, said to the people: „What fault has my son committed, that Sayd Gul will not extract the bullet?” The people said: „Be patient about this, we shall negotiate with him.”

15. Then the people, greybeards and tribal officials, went to Sayd Gul, and said to him: „Why don't you extract the bullet from Akbar

wēta u-weyel ē: „Za lāsō xalko la arz kawum, ēe dā sarkār nukar wī, dā ax saji tabib za na kawum. O pə dā xaharē hānde sarkār damā dōxmān dāi ēe damā plār yō mar krai dāi. O dāy xalko la za hukam wēr kawum ēe dā sarkār nukarī na kawā, o dā xalk damā xaharē na manū.” Dayu jargēwālo xalko wēta u-wēl ē: „Mug dē ta awil kawū ēe dā gulā u-bāsa! Aya u-wēl ē: „Mā pə Korān kasam krai dāi.”

16. O pə dē xaharē kō ēe xalk tō na kapu rawān āwal, na malak la ē u-wuyel ē: „Zağa dō xwaxa dā?” Day wē-ta u-wuyel ē: „Tāsō la za arz kum ēe dā dō ywa kōla dā dā tabib, wo dwalas ywāyān dī, o culwēxt myugū (psu) dī. Dā lār šō, o aya kōla u-sezō, o aya myugē o ywāyān alal kō, wēlo ēe mug dē na damā awālan kawū, wo dē awān na manū.”

17. Na dayu jorga wērpālā, na kōla ke gōlā wēr nana-bosale, nā ayō xalko tili wēta u-lagawo. O kōlō la pə xā ān ari wār wēr-ko. Wo pə dō kō xazzē o wārki rāplal, o oyo wu-zafal. Dā tabib xozō wu-wē, ēe rāpla jirgē la, xalko la, wo wu-ye-zāral ē: „Mug cə guān o kasār krai dāi, ēe lāsō xalk damā kōla-sezō?” Mug xalko wēta u-weyel ē:

Shah the headman's son?” He answered them: „I tell you people that I will not cure a man who serves the Government. And the reason why the Government is my enemy is that it has killed my father. I order these people not to serve the Government; but they do not obey my words.” The people who took part in the council said to him: „We [only] ask you to extract the bullet from him.” He said: „I have taken an oath on the Koran [not to do so].”

16. And people grew angry with him on account of these words, and went off. And they asked the headman what he wanted [them to do]. He said to them: „I tell you that he, the doctor, has a house, and twelve bulls, and forty sheep. Go to him, and burn his house and kill the sheep and bulls; because we have asked him so often, and he will not yield to our entreaties.”

17. Then this jirga¹⁾ came to him, carried bundles of grass into the house, and put a match to it. And they set the house completely on fire. Then the women and children came out, weeping. And the doctor's wife approached the jirga and said to the people: „What sin or offense have we done, that you should burn my house?” Our people answered: „The reason why we burn the house is that he will not

¹⁾ dāz?

²⁾ mēripul was explained as meaning *aspidiot*.

¹⁾ council.

„Mug xalk pa dē xabarē bānde dā koḡa sēzū, ēc o mulak dā zwī na guḡā na u-bosī. Na aya kōḡa omug xalka wu-awala.“

18. Dayə xazē jo arza ke wu-ko xalka la ēc: „Dā ywāyān wo dā ywā domug plāḡḡuḡā rikrī dī, wo dā ywāyān wo ywā a tabib na dī. Wo jo dē xabarē bānde omug dērtā swāl dāi.“ O aya xalk[a] sara jarga u-kḡala, ēc dā ywāyān be huḡē xazē la wēf-kū. Aya ywāyān am ayē xazē wēf-kḡal.

19. Na jo dē kē damā ēḡfī pīru āwala. Na zo rawān āwalam ēc domug risalē dēpū pa Sīnkōḡ ke wu. O jo Sīnkōḡ ke ēc wu-psēdālam, dā sabāyī jo las buḡe bānde pa dīktēr be pēs āwalam. O kornēl sāheb arta u-wēl ēc: „Wā wōrkīya, oḡe guḡā cāḡḡa dā, takfī dērtāwi ku nā?“ O mē wērtā u-wayel ēc: „Guḡā mē la dēf star takfī rī kawī.“ O ax sāb mē la u-wayel ēc: „Tū“) be dūme pastan dā Lahār dā aspōdī la be tū zo lagam. O biyē be pastan dē Kalkula la gercēḡē. Tō be azkār na kawā.“ O mē wērtā arz wu-ko ēc: „Ku mē Wolēla la huḡē, nō zo bo azkār na kawam.“

20. Na zo ēc wēryōlam dā Lahār aspōdī la, na mē la kornēl sāheb ēḡfī rī-kḡyō wu. Mē aya ēḡfī jo Lahār aspōdī ke wu-xayila, o mē

extract the bullet from the son of the headman. Therefore we have burnt²⁾ the house.“

18. These women entreated the people saying: „These bulls and these cows have been given us by our fathers³⁾, they do not belong to the tabib. And for that reason we ask you [to let us keep them]“ And the people decided to return the bulls to the woman. And we gave the bulls to the woman.

19. Now at that time my leave was over. And I went to Sīnkot where the depot of our regiment was. And when I arrived at Sīnkot, I appeared before the doctor the next day at ten o'clock. And the colonel sahib said to me: „Well my lad, what about your bullet, does it give you pain, or not?“ I answered: „The bullet gives me very great pain.“ Then the sahib said to me: „Go back again, I shall send you to the hospital in Lahore⁴⁾. And after that you shall go back (?) to Calcutta. You must not refuse.“ And I said to him: „Even if you send me to Europe, I shall not refuse.“

20. When I arrived at the Lahore Hospital the colonel sahib had given me a pass. I showed the pass in the Lahore Hospital, and

¹⁾ = *la, lā*.

²⁾ lit.: by our patrimony.

³⁾ *mu-sabā* is really an intrusive.

⁴⁾ *Noto da aspōdī to and dē Kalkula la*.

žarnēl sāheb la wu-xayila. O jo dē ke žarnēl sāb u-wayel ēc: „You saržān wu-gorū“, o ay la yē zo u-xayilam. O pa bizīf ke bizīf ama pa xēḡā bānde tūw yē u-kḡala. O jo dē ke saržān sāb mē la u-wayel ēc: „Do pās Baločē palāna na you awaldār Šerīb Xīn am rāyḡai wu, o pa dē kē aya awaldār ēc wu, pa xēḡā dā aya-m dāya guḡā prātā wu, wo dā ey na jo xā šān sra mug guḡā u-basala. O dā tā na be-m guḡā jo xā šān sra u-bosū.“

21. Na jo dē kē dāwān rawān āwalū, žarnēl sāheb la pēs āwalū. [Saržān u-wayel] ēc: „Do day wōrkī pa xai pāto laḡī kē guḡā prātā dā.“ Na žarnēl sāb u-wēl ēc: „O-r-jō ēc day guḡā zo tā na u-bosam.“ O jo dē xabarē kē, ēc rāyḡalū, na mē la yē bōḡal wu-niwū sāḡḡe la, o zān la zo xabar na āwam, o dā xēḡa yē damā wu-cīralu, o damā dā gēḡa na yē guḡā jo xā šān sra u-basala.

22. Na biyē yē zo kāḡ la yōwralam, wēḡē ēc pa you sabāyī jo las buḡe zo bewāsa šawai wam, o bal sabāyī jo las buḡe bānde zān la xabar āwam-yan. O žarnēl sāb ke kāḡ la rāyḡai, na mē la yē wu-wēl ēc: „Wōrkīya, cāḡḡe yē?“ Na mē wērtā wu-wēl ēc: „Sāb, dēra mīrtabānī dī, zo dēf jōr yom, o zīra mē xugēḡi.“ (O žarnēl sāb arta u-wēl ēc: „Za be

showed it to the general sahib. Then the general sahib said to me that I should see a sergeant, and he showed me to him. And in the X-ray department they turned X-rays round in my belly. And then the sergeant sahib said to me: „A haxildar, named Sherif Khan, from a Balochi regiment had also (?) come here, and in his belly, too, a bullet had stuck, and we extracted the bullet from him neatly. And we shall extract the bullet neatly from you, too.“

21. Then both of us went off, and appeared before the general. The sergeant said: „This lad has got a bullet sticking in the right side under the ribs.“ The general sahib said: „Come here, that I may extract the bullet from you.“ And when we came there after this conversation, he put a bottle to my nostrils, and I was not aware of anything. And he cut open my belly, and he extracted the bullet from my stomach all right.

22. Then they brought me back to my bed again, because I had become unconscious one morning at ten o'clock, and awoke the next morning at the same hour. And when the general sahib came to my bed he asked: „How are you, my lad?“ And I answered: „Sahib, you are very kind, I am all right, but my heart pains me.“ The general sahib said to me: „I shall give you fresh water, and that water will

¹⁾ *dāpās* = *dā pāda* above, besides!

xwage obâ dër-kum; eâ zra be da oyo obâ sara jar si." O p' dë ko mî wërta u-wël ée: „Dër zar mî la obâ rî-wra!"

23. Na aya zarnîl sâheb mîma la xabura u-kpala, ée dayu la zar obâ rî-wra. Éyo minî mî la obâ rî-wrôlê, o mî wu-coxalê, o mî mîm sâheb la wu-wayel ée: „Za mör na šwulam." Mîm sâb wu-wël ée: „Za bo tî la šiwâ rî-wron." Šiwde-ye mî la rî-wral. I'o oyo šiwâs hânîde perîwî wu, na aya perîwî pò kô dër wu, o pò kô arta šukuru ašuwîlyo wu. Na mî ée wu-coxal, na emî gëŋla maŋa šwula. O mîm sâheb arta u-weyel ée: „Nör coxô?" Mî wërta u-wël ée: „Mîm sâb, dëra mërâbîni dî, zo mör šwulam." O mîm sâb wu-wël ée: „Xa dî, to was wîdô ša. O šar o pnašt o kûke mî waha, pò arîm sara camla!"

24. Na pa dë kô kolmîšalom. O pa dë kô mî hânîde nye mîm sâb you zarûkat u-yîŋrawa (wîŋrawa), o pa sâr hânîde yê you balaxê kô-xwî. O pa dë kô zo wîdô šwulam. Ée wîdô šwulam, pò dë kô you éaŋrîštan rîŋal, dâkî. O aya wu-wël ée: „Akbur Sîh éarta dîi?" No mîla ay éaŋî malaw šwala.

25. Na emî yo sîk ar sara pò kâŋ kô jurt wu, oyo ée pax likewîla wu. Aya éaŋî mî ay sîk la wër-kpala, o mî ax sîk la u-weyel ée: „Çaŋî mî la pa mërâbîni sara pata ka." O ax ée wu-katala, patî kpala ax éaŋî.

do your heart good." And then I said to him: „Please bring me the water very quickly."

23. Then the general sahib called the men sahib¹⁾, and asked her to bring me water. And the men sahib brought me water, and I drank, and said to the men sahib: „I have not asked my thirst yet." Then she brought me milk. There was cream on the milk, much cream, and she had put sugar into it for me. When I drank, my stomach became satisfied. The men sahib asked me: „Do you want to drink more?" I answered her: „No thanks, men sahib, now I am satisfied." And the men sahib said: „That's good, now you must sleep. And don't shout or cry, but lie down quietly to sleep."

24. Then I lay down to sleep. And then the men sahib spread a blanket over me, and put a pillow under my head. And I fell asleep. When I woke a letter-carrier, a postman, arrived. And he asked: „Where is Akbar Sîh?" And I got the letter.

25. Now I had a Sikh lying near me in bed, and he was very good at writing. I gave the letter to the Sikh and asked him to be so kind and read the letter out to me. And looking at the letter he read it.

¹⁾ The *murao*.

26. I'a éaŋî kô dî xabarê emî mör o plâr likeli wû (wê?), ee: „Mug dwinê dër xupu yî, ée to mug la pa mërâbîni sara xabar dër pa jallâ sara ru-wî-laga." O mî ax sîk la u-weyel ée: „Mî la ywa éaŋî u-likla." Na mî la yê dëra pa jallâ sara ywî éaŋî u-likala. O mî wërta u-wël ée: „Mör o plâr la u-likla, ée zo pa Mendeli aspaŋal pò lahör kô prât yam, o dlamî na pa xâ šân sara šobîno guŋlâ u-bîsaliye dî. O ywî myašt pas zo be unîd buram ée zo be tâsa la dër šam."

27. Na ée daltu aya éaŋî rîŋpala emî mör o plâr la, na da ée xabar šwul, na pò ŋal kali ke sara yê yar o dast la xabar wu-laga ée: „Da mug xwašîla wu, ée da mug zwî na guŋlâ sâhebîna u-bîsala."

28. Na pa dë kô da mug plâr dâmân rî-balal, o dâmân la ô u-weyel ée: „Tâsa ŋala wrêzê tamîša wu-ka." O pa kali kô da mî plâr laŋo, ée dwî kârîm wû, ée ayo sara badi wa. Na ayo la ô wu-wël ée: „Za tâsa pa mânz ke zamemat kawum, wo tamîšê la rî-ša."

29. I'a ayo saŋô da ywa namâ Purdeli wu, o da bal nama Šîd Gwal wa. Ée rîŋŋal, tamîšô la kênîštal. O da mî plâr wërta maŋâ paxa kpala, p' maŋî hânîde yê kênawul, wrîzê o yaŋî o waya yê wêla kô-xwî.

26. In the letter my mother and father had written these words: „We both feel very sorry, and please send us news very quickly." And I said to the Sikh: „Write a letter for me." (And he wrote a letter for me very quickly.) And I said to him: „Write to my mother and father, that I am lying in the Military(?)¹⁾ Hospital in Lahore. And the sahibs have extracted the bullet from me all right. And I hope to come to you in a month."

27. When the letter arrived here (1), at my mother's and father's house and when they got the news, they sent a message to their friends and acquaintances all over the village: „We are happy because the sahibs have extracted the bullet from our son."

28. Then my father summoned the domes²⁾, and told them to make a feast the whole day. And my father went out into the village, where there were two houses with which he had a feud. And he said to them: „I grant you safety, come to the feast."

29. The name of one of these men was Purdil, and that of the other was Shabîdî (1). When they came, they sat down to the feast. And my father cooked food for them, and made them sit down to the food, and placed before them rice and ghee and eggs. When they had eaten,

¹⁾ It seems possible that *Mendeli* is derived, with two senses of dissimulation,

Moheli = *Moheri* = *Mithery*. ²⁾ Musicians and dancers.

Če maza-i-u-xwayla, na dloyš sara, wo da kolī xalka tolo dawā wu-kraha. Jay Purdēl u-weyel čē: „Dise dawā wu-kēš, čē day do mulak zwai po xēr o xeriyāt sra rā-ši xpol watan la.“

30. Pa dē kō dayš xalka u-wayel čē: „Do la zwai . . . do mug do žamē o do manžalas dēr kār pē bānde irān šawai dai, pa kama waža sra čē dai dolā ništa dai. Ja dē waža čē armošā be dolā zwai do mug sra po užn kē nāst wu, o gariš o mošxola be yē kawula.“

these men and the village-people all of them invoked the blessings. And Purdēl said: „Make this prayer, that the son of the headman may return sound and well to his country.“

30. Thereupon the people said: „As for your son, in our assemblies and parties many affairs have become spoilt on account of him, for this reason that he is not here any more¹). The reason is that [your] son always used to sit with us in the guest-house, taking part in deliberations and conversations.“

¹ I have translated this unrecorded sentence as literally as possible.

THE WANETSÍ DIALECT OF PASHTO

From the very extensive territory to the south and west of Waziristan where 'soft' Pashto is spoken, the Linguistic Survey of India gives specimens only of what is called the 'Pishin and Kandahar dialect'. Vol. X, p. 112, however, some remarks are quoted from Mr. (now Sir) Denys Bray's 'Report on the Census of Baluchistan for 1911', giving a few instances of quite important dialectical variations among the Kākays, Tairins, Shērānis, and other Pathan tribes of Northern Baluchistan. Summing up, Sir Denys says: 'These are of course but a few local dialects gathered from the hunch — just enough to show that grubbing into the Pashto dialects of Baluchistan would not be labour lost.'

The materials which I collected during a short visit to Baluchistan in 1929, on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, fully bear out this remark.

In the subdialects we find varying treatments of initial groups of consonants. E. g. *welast*, "welast, *hwast*, *hwēst* 'a span', *mmar*, *ymar*, *hmar*, *mēr* 'sun', *mmasat*, *ymasat*, *n'masat*, *bmasat*, *pmasat*, *qmasat* 'grandson'. The Shērānis, and several Kākay clans, still pronounce the *w* in *wēst*, "šēl" etc. '20': Standard Pshu, and all dialects recorded till now, *šēl* etc. Many Kākays pronounce *pūzast* '50', either < Av. *panāsatan* (Skand. Pshu. *panjās*, *pinjās*, cf. Skr. *pañāsata*-), or, less probably, formed on the analogy of *cahwēšt*, *cahwēšt* '40'. Regarding *wēlay* 'went away' v. below p. 191.

¹ This form definitely disproves the derivation of *šēl*, *šēl* < Av. *shē*, proposed by Bartholomae, H¹ 12, 136 sq.

² A few words from this dialect are quoted in the *varieties* of the Sali District.

possessed a Linguistic Atlas of India, of the Indo-Aryan area, or even of single provinces or languages!

We may add that Romani *phen* belongs to the marginal type.

But we are scarcely entitled to draw any conclusions from this fact as to the original home of Romani. Even if it was somewhere in Central India, we know that the Gipsies passed through the North-West and stayed there for some time. It is also possible that they may have left their original home before the spread of *bahini*.

In Singhalese *biniṇi*, *buhini* is, according to Geiger, Etymologie des Singhalesischen, 997, used about the elder sister. But this word, which is not found in Clough's Dictionary, is probably a purely literary one. Wickremasinghe¹⁵ gives *akkā* 'elder sister' and *naṇṇi*, *naṅā* 'younger sister'¹⁶, cf. Geiger *na(ṇ)gā*. It is interesting to note that this latter word is derived by him from *nagn(ṭh)ā* 'naked', mentioned by Gonda at the end of his article.¹⁷

In several other languages the use of *bhagini* is restricted to the younger sister. Thus in Assamese, Nepali and some dialects of W. Pahari. Only in Garhwālī *baṇi* or *ḍiḍi* is the elder sister, while the younger is called *bhulī*. The reservation of *bhagini* for the younger sister agrees well with the etymology proposed by Gonda and is not necessarily due to a secondary restriction of the meaning.¹⁸

THE WORDS FOR 'SISTER' IN DARDIC AND KAFIRI

Kalasha	Khovār	Shina	Dumāki
<i>babā</i>	<i>ispusār</i>	<i>sa(s)</i>	<i>bēin</i>
Prasun	Kati	Phalūrā	Bashkarik
<i>syūs</i> , etc. <i>sus</i>	<i>bhēn</i>	<i>iṣṭō</i>	
Ashkun	Waigeli	Dameli	Torwali
<i>sūs</i>	<i>sōs</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>šū</i>
Pashai	Shumashiti	Gawar-Bati	
<i>sai</i> , etc. <i>pas</i>	<i>sasa</i>		
	Tirahi	Lahndā	<i>bhai</i>
	<i>sphas</i>	<i>bhēn</i>	

¹⁵ Singhalese Self-taught, p. 31.

¹⁶ But *būnā* 'sister's son'.

¹⁷ Cf. also Waigeli *nānuy*, Kati *manōḍ* 'small boy' < *nagnāyga*.

¹⁸ Additional Note.—Also Wolapuri, a Dardic dialect spoken between Waigeli and the Kunar river, has the *bhagini* type (*batm*). But Wol. in several other respects, too, agrees with the languages of the plains.

METATHESIS OF LIQUIDS IN DARDIC

A traveller awakened from his sleep by the tea-seller shouting his drawled, rhythmical *g(ɔ)raṇ ēte!* 'hot tea!' — as he walks along the platform of an Indian railway-station, might perhaps, if he were a linguist, imagine that he had been transferred to the neighbourhood of some Slavonic "*grad*". But the similarity between this street-cry pronunciation of Hindostani *gar(ɔ) m* — borrowed from Persian *gar* 'hot' and the Slavonic metathesis of liquids is of course quite superficial.

A tendency, apparently parallel to that of the Slavonic languages, may, however, be traced back to a very ancient date in India. In Asoka's inscriptions in the Kharoshthi alphabet and in the N. W. dialect from the 3rd century B. C. we find *kra(m)na* 'work' < Skt. *karma*; *dhra(m)na* 'law' < *dharma*; *prua* 'first' < *pūrva*, etc. Cf. *dhraṇika* 'righteous' on Kharoshthi coins from the following centuries, and *triḡha* 'long' < *dirgha*, but also *dhra(m)na*, in the Kharoshthi Dhammapada.

In view of the Asoka forms of the type *spaḡra* 'heaven', *sara* 'all' < *sarva*, and especially *kiṛa* 'done' < *kṛta*, which can scarcely represent the real pronunciation, Hultzsch¹ considers *kra(m)na*, etc., to be merely an orthographical device to express a spoken *kar(m)na*, and Bloch² leaves the question open. In support of this view it might be mentioned that the later Khar. inscriptions and the Khar. documents from Central Asia do not know this metathesis. They write,

¹ Inscriptions of Asoka, p. LXXXVII.

² L'Indo-Aryen, p. 85.

c.g., *dirgha*; *dhr(y)ma*; *-varma* (in late inscriptions also *-varama*, which points to an actual pronunciation *rm*, with *svarahakti*).

Epigraphically there is, however, a considerable difference between the transfer of an *r* to the preceding aksara, as in *kr-ma*¹, and the slight change of place within the same aksara, as in *sa-wa*. In the latter case the transposition is likely to be merely graphical, and, according to Bühler², *r* is "bald vor bald nach dem dardisch stehenden Consonanten zu sprechen". The transfer to the preceding syllable is a much more serious matter, and it seems quite possible that *kr(m)ma* was really pronounced *krmma*, while *sarwa* was intended to represent a spoken *sarwa*.

A parallel which might support the reading *krmma* has been adduced from modern N. W. Indo-Aryan³. Here we find Sindhi *dirgha* 'long'; *trimo* (Gujarati *trīṇ*) 'copper' < *damra*. And in the Dardic languages the type *krmma* is quite usual, while the existence of a type *spagra* is rather doubtful.⁴

It may be worth while to examine the material available from the Dardic⁵ languages and to try to determine whether it can tell us anything about the nature and the chronology of this development.

1. — Metathesis of an anteconsonantic *r*.⁶

rā: (1) *taru* > Kal. *traku* 'spindle'; Shi. *ṣāko*; Si. *traku*; Lhd.

¹ Shahbazgarhi, VI, 16 Hultsch corrects Bühler's reading *sram(oka)* into *sam*. But, as far as it is possible to judge from Hultsch's plate, there is a fairly clear *r* stroke at the bottom of the *sa*, which has not the appearance of being accidental or of belonging to the stone.
² Ind. Palaeographic, p. 27. Cf., however, Boyer, Kapsen and Senart, Khar. Inscriptions, p. 315.
³ V. c. g. Bloch, l. c.
⁴ Cf., however, Prasun *iidra*, *iitrā*, (6) below, and Khowar *adīax* (> Kal. *adrah*) 'hillside, forest', prob. borrowed from Ir. **ardax*, Sanglechi *āfāx* 'hill'; *wofax* 'rib' (v. Indo-Ir. Frontier Langu., II, pp. 380, 419).

⁵ 'Dardic' here includes the Kafir languages, which in this respect present no peculiarities of their own. The languages in question are: K(ashmiri); Shi(nal); D(umak); M(aiyā); B(ashkarik); T(otwali);

trakkā and, with secondary metathesis, *takkā*.⁷ Cf. Ksh. *traku* 'shuttle'?

rg(h): (2) *dirga* > Ph. *drāg* 'ravine'.

(3) *dirgha* > Kal. *driga*, *dhriga*; Kh. *dring*; Shi. *ṣiga*; D. *jiga*; B. *h'g*; M. *ṣiga*; To. *jik*; Ti. *dorga*; Ph. *dhriga*; D. *driga*; G.B. Shu. *h'gālo*; Pash. *legl*, *h'golo*, *dri*; K. *drig'it*; Pr. *jigui*; W. *dirgha*, *dirgālo*; Si. *dirgho* (all); Lhd. *dirgha*. — But Romani syr. *d'irgā*.

(4) **marga* > D. *mrag*; G.B. *blay*; Pash. *loy*; W., K. *mīay*; A. *mlay*; 'markhor'; Ph. *mringa-ḥol* 'markhor-kid'; Kal. *mīā*, *mrag* 'hex'; — But Kh. *mroi* > *mrga*?

ryg: (5) *sāryga* > Pash. laup. *sāyg* 'horn'. — Other dialects *ṣīg* > *ṣryga*.

ry: (6) *bhūrya* > Ph. *brhy*; D. *brūṣ*; G.B. *bluz*; Shi. *jūs*, *joj*; B. *jij*; but Ksh. *burza* 'birch-bark'. — Pr. *iidro* < **(b)ujra* (cf. *nirā* 'bear' < **nēra* < **nēn*)?

rp: (7) *tarpyate* > Ph. *utrāp*; D. *trap*; G.B. *ḥap* 'to run'; Si. *trap* 'to leap'.

(8) *karpāsa* > Kal. *krāpas* 'cotton (plant)'. Thus, Turner. Nep. Diet., s.v. *karpās*. But prob., with late metathesis, from Kh. *karāpas*, in its turn from Prs.

T(irahī); K(howar); K(ashan); P(halūgrā); D(amel); G(awar)B(ait); Shu(nashit); P(ashat) (with many dialects), and the Kafir languages K(ait); W(alegti); A(sikun); and P(āsum). Their relative geographical position may be roughly indicated in the following way:

Pr.	Kal.	Kh.	Shi.	D.
A.	K.	Ph.	B.	M.
Pash.	W.	D.	T.	Ksh.
	Shu.	Gh.		

Ti.

⁶ The resulting initial groups have subsequently been assimilated in manifold ways in the various dialects.

⁷ Ancient *rā* is assimilated in Lhd. — Cf. also *parāp* *tasama*, for *prāp*, etc.

⁸ Cf. Turner, JRAS, 1924, p. 569.

rb: (9) *duvāla* > Ph. *drubāla* 'weak'.

rm: (10) *karmān* > Kal. *krom*; Sh. *krom*; D. *krom*; D., Ti. *kram*; Ph. *kram*; B., GB., Shu. *kām*; Pash. *kām*, *kām*, *plām*, *šom*, *kurām* (obl. *karmā*). Also To. *kām* prob., and Ksh. *kam* possibly < **kram*. — But Kh. *korum* (< **korm*), obl. *korum*.

(11) *marman* > Ph. *marā*; D. *brām* 'wrist'.

(12) *dharmān* (?) > Kal. *drām*¹; Shu. *drām* 'roof'.

(13) *dharmān* (?) > Pash. arcī *drām* 'friend'.

(14) *karma* (-*ā*?) etc., > K., A. *kram*; A. *kām*; Pash. *kām*; *kām*, *šond*, *plend*), *kinulār* (obl. *karamā*) 'roof'.

rš: (15) *paršān* > Kh., Sh. *praš*; Ph. *prašān* (Savi *praśān*) 'rib'. — But Kal. *paš*; B., A., Pash., Shu. *pāšān*; GB. *pašān*; W. *pašā*; K. *pašān*, etc.; Ksh. *pāha-lara*. — Kh. *pāz* 'flank, breast' prob. < D. *pāc* < **pārcan*.

rś: (16) *śrīṣān* > Kal., Sh. Ph., etc. *śīś* 'head'. Possibly < **śrīś*, but more probably < **śīś*, with later dilation.

rśs: (17) *bharisana* > Pash. ar. *blosan* 'oath, curse'.

(Ph: (18) *gufpha* 'ankle' > D. *grōpha* 'wrist'.)

II. Metathesis of postconsonantic *r*:

kr: (19) *vikrīṇān* > Kal. *brīkār*; D. *brīkin*; Pash. *rekam*, *līgīn* 'to sell'; K. *vīkīl* 'sale' (contaminated with Lhd. *vec-an*, H. *dec-na*?). — But GB. (and Rom.) *bīkin*.

(20) *takra* 'sour milk' > Kh. *trak* 'sour'. — But B., GB. *lakka* 'rotten, old'; D. *traka* 'old (clothes)'; Kal. *trāka* 'weak' must be a different word.

(21) *takra* > B. **črūk* > *črūk* 'sour' (?) — More prob. a loan-word (< To. *črūk*?) with -*k*, not true B. -*k*, < *kr*.

(22) *dāra* > Pash. *drār*, *lār*; Ksh. *drār*; W. Pahari, *bhar*, *dar*, etc. — But Pr. *lārīgē* < *dar*; Lhd. *dār*, etc.

(23) *laurā* > Ph. *trān*; D. *tran*; Kal. *trān* (-); K. *trār*, (*trār* 'weaving, loom'. — But Pr. *trār* > **trār*).

d(h)r: (24) *daritra* > Ksh. *drūid* 'poor' (prob. tatsamān).

: (25) *vūdhya* > D. *brēdī* 'clear sky'. — But Ph. *būdr*, Kal. *būdr*; Sh. *bīzi*; Ksh. *vūdār*; cf. Kh. *yūdār*.

pr: (26) **suapra* > Kal. *išprār*; GB. *lap*; Shu., Pash. *kām*; Pash. ar. *plau* 'sleep dream'. — But Sh. *sāga* 'dream'.

mr: (27) *kāmra* > B. *kām* 'copper'; Sh. *kām* (with *tr*, not *č*!) < Ksh. *kām*; Si. *kām*; W. Pah. *kinuth*. *čāmbā*, etc.; D. *trāmba-lacuk* 'raspberries' ('red-berries').

(28) *namrāl* (cf. *nam*, *namr*) > K. *vīrān* 'ant'; A. *brān*, *blān*; Pr. *namr* (> **namr*?). — Pash. *warenjāk*, etc. > **warla*?

vr: (29) **pīra* (?) > Pash. *plieu*, *lū* 'fat'.

śr: (30) *śvaśrī* (**śvaśrīyā*) > Kal. *išpres* 'mother-in-law'; Kh. *išpres*; Ph. *pres*; Savi *praś*; B. *čīś*. To. *paś* (< *pr*?). — But Pash. *šairū*, etc.; Sh. *šaś*; D. *šās*; Ksh. *haś*, etc.; D. *išpaśi*, A. *šipoś*, and probably K. *čāc* < **čāc*, with assimilation to a following cerebral as in several other cases.

sr: *lamra* > Kal. *trōmī*; W. *trōmī* 'darkness'; K. *trōmī* 'evening'.

Metathesis may also have taken place in some of the Dardic words of unknown etymology which have an initial *r*-group. Thus, e. g. Ph. *drubhal* 'marrow'; *drakā*, 'to pull'; *būdraga* (B. *biḡ*) 'thiness' < **bi-drāga*-ka; D. *gramuśā* 'to stir soup'; Kal. *utak* 'to tear' (Sh. *trak* 'tearing'); *drūp* 'to eat something hot'; Ksh. *pror* 'white' (poss. < **paṇḍra*, cf. Skt. *paṇḍu*); *trakor* 'hard, rough' (< **brakor* < *karikara*?)

It is possible that there is some connection between the anticipation of *r* in the types *tarka*, *takra* and the usual development of *r* > *rī*, *ru* in Dardic, e. g. in Kal. *kriṣṇa* 'black'; Kh. *trusna* 'thirsty'. But this question would need a separate, detailed discussion. In some cases the derivation from *r* may be doubtful; cf. Pash. *rakati* 'kidney' (< **vrakā*), with D. *brōkati*; Ph., Kal., Kh. *brūhuk*, etc. < **yrkka*.

The transposition seems to be fairly regular in words of Type I (*araka*) with initial stop, *m* and *ś* (i. e., sounds which could combine with *r* in Sanskrit). It is only to be expected that *nīmāla*-should result in **nīmāla*- (GB. *nīmālo*; D. *nīmāl* 'clear sky') and not in

¹ V. Turner, The Position of Romani, pp. 7, 9. — Note *myla* > **myla* in Pash. *bīk* 'dead', Kh. *brik*, but > **myla* in Ph. *myro*; B. *myr*; A. *myr*, etc.

**urinala*, and no trace is found of any form **camma* < **cramma* < *carnan* (B., W. *ēṇ*, etc. 'skin'). Therefore B. *ēṇ* 'sour' cannot be derived from **cṛnkh*¹, and in D., Ph. *phaḥ* 'to vomit' the initial cerebral has been influenced by the final one and the root does not go back to **chard*. Also an initial *sr*- has been avoided in the words denoting 'all': B. *sā*, Yi. *sāw*; K. *sā*; A. *sew*, *sawak*; W. *sab* (and *sarab*, *saparak*, etc.) < *sarar*. Even in the Asoka inscriptions the isolated reading *sra-* is contended by Hultzsch.

We might have expected to find some forms derived from **mrakata* < *markata* but all recorded Dardic words for 'monkey' go back to **makata* (-*āta*, -*āta*). Thus, D. *mākū*; Ph. *mākay*; K. *mākū*; Pash. kur. *mākay*. Kh. *mukū*; W. **mukū*; Kal. *māku* (dem. *mā'ōyāk*) < **mākū*. It is of course possible that these words are later borrowings, just as Pash. *kakurā* 'water melon'; W. *kaphirū* 'sourd' < *karkū*. Pash. *phālgū* 'n. of a month' is evidently a tatsama. Kh. *korum* (*korno*) 'work'; *gambū* 'pregnant'; *gordeṣ* 'ass' (thor. into Kal. *gardokh*) seem to indicate that Kh. did not transpose the *r* of *larka*. The only example of this transposition in Kh. is *praś* 'rib', which may, perhaps, originally belong to some other dialect. It would not in itself be surprising if Kh., which presents so many archaic features, should prove to stand apart in this respect, too.

The assimilation of *r* with a following dental into a cerebral which is common to all Dardic languages with the exception of Kh. and Kal., antedates, and consequently prevents the metathesis. Thus, GiB., W. *waḥ*; Ph. *bāḥ*, etc. 'stone'; Kh. *borṭ*, Kal. *bat*; Ph., D. *baḥ*; Pash. *waḥḥ* 'to grow'; Kh. *borṭ*; Kal. *bāḥ*; B., Yi. *kay*; Ph. *kāy*, etc. Kal. *kīḥ* 'ear'.² Also *rś* was assimilated before the transposition took place; e. g., in Ph. *bās*; K., W. *waś*, etc.; Kh. *bośk* 'rain'.³

¹ V. above (21).

² There is no certain example of *rn* in Kh. *kār* 'ear' = W., cf. D. *kār*. K. *kār*, is probably a different word. *Sornu* (*sornu*) 'gold' has got its *n* from *droxluṇ* 'silver' before the assimilation of *rn*, but after the borrowing of this Greek word through some Ir. dialect.

In Type II (*akra*) also, the transposition is avoided when it would lead to the formation of awkward initial groups. Thus, Kal. *ēkri* 'spleen'; *ēkka*, etc. (passim)⁴ 'sour'; A. *ēār* 'spinning wheel'; Kal. *ēandr* 'to shine'; B. *ēan*, D. *ēāw* 'moon'; Ph. *yāndr*⁵ 'water-mill' (and corresponding forms in most languages) < *yandra*, but *bānd* < *tantra*; Ph. *mūdra*, etc. 'sleep' < *mūṇā*.

But in this group there is, as will appear from the list given above, much less regularity in the transposition of *r*. And in a number of words where it might have been phonetically possible, we nevertheless find the old sequence of consonants retained everywhere. Thus, e.g., K. *gōr*, A. *gār* 'arm' < *gāra*; Kal. *badrī* 'leather belt' < *radrādri*; Shi. *pācu* 'cloth' < *pāṭra*, and in various dialects forms corresponding to Ph. *putr* 'son'; *sār* 'thread'; *mār* 'urine'.

Kh. *iśpreś*, etc., 'mother-in-law' (30) need not necessarily have passed through a stage **śrasrīyā*. More probably the transposition did not take place till after the already N.W. Asokan change of *śv*, > *śp*, *śp*.

In some cases the transposition is evidently quite recent. Thus Kal. has *trandistī* 'wealth' from the Prs. loan-word *tandabristi* and *kramas* (8) from Kh. *karyas*. Also *māku* 'monkey' < **mākū* must be late, and corresponding to N. Kal. *kraṭ* 'to laugh' the Utsun dialect has *katr*. *Piṛ* 'palm of the hand'; *piṇ* 'leaf', and *k'riṇ* 'ear' probably go back to not very remote forms **piṛ* < **peṇ*, etc. Similarly K. *wiṛ*, *waṛ*, W. *wiṛ* 'to see' < A. *wēṇ*; W. *piṛ* 'palm of the hand'; *kriṇ*, *kay* 'arrow', etc. Cf. D. *brīḍum*, *bāḍum* 'pellet-bow' < *bāp*, **bāḍum*, and Kal. *drīz* 'to load', prob. from Ir. *darz* (Parachi *depe*, etc.). It seems also probable that the NW Dardic word for meadow,

³ Reg. *sīs* 'head' v. above (16). — A surprising form is Western K. *paṛsi* (Eastern K. *paṣi*) 'hillside, rock' if < **palsiya*, cf. Skt. *pāṣya*, *pāṣṇa*.

⁴ But Shi. *ēarku*.

⁵ Kal. *zandr*, but also *mantr* 'to speak'.

⁶ The connection with K. *brīji* id. is uncertain.

⁷ Bloch, l.c., puts Kal. "proi" on a line with *kron* 'work'.

Kal. *brhu*(*ε*), *brāniz*; Kh. *broniz*; Ph. *brāniz*; 1). *brās*; K. *brānī*, *brāz*; Pr. *man* < *manz* is derived, with the quite common repetition of an initial nasal, from Ir. *marz*.

To sum up: Both I and II preceded the change of initial groups with *r* to *l*, *ḷ*, *ḥ*, *s*, *j*, etc. in many Indic languages. But we know nothing about the date of this change, which may be fairly recent. We have only modern records of these languages, but the place-names *Shahgṛām* and *Chodgṛām* in Torwal seem to show that To. had not yet lost the *r* at the time of the Pathan invasion in the 16th century, and many names in *grām* are also found in Jir, etc. The Pasho form *Brīār* = B. *jīār*, a village in Kaskar, points to a pronunciation **Brīār* prevailing at any rate up to that period.

Type I may be referred to a date between the assimilation of *r* + dental and that of *r* + *m*, etc.:¹

- 1) *karya* > *kama*-
- 2) *karmān*- > *kramma*-
- 3) *carman*- > *camma*-

It seems probable that this Indic transposition is historically connected with that which appears in the Aśokan inscriptions.

Type II is not known from Aśoka, but this may be an accident, for it occurs frequently in N.W. I.A. It is later than the Aśokan change of *śv* > *śb*, and probably also than that of *mr* > *mbr*. But it is more sporadic than Type I, and the tendency seems to be at work up to the present day. The chronological problem is complicated by the fact that some of the words in question have possibly been borrowed from some other dialect. We are able to prove this only in the case of Shi. *trām* 'copper', where the genuine Shi. form should have been **tām*.

¹ *rg* has possibly been retained in D. *argadī*; (iB. *h'argad*, B. *argid* etc., chin, jaw, if < *argada* 'bolt, bar'.

² The loss of *g* in Pash. *areti dñ* may be due to a separate development within the dialect. — Reg. Kal. *kratus* v. (8).

³ JKAS, 1924, p. 369.

⁴ L'Indo-Aryen, p. 85.

It is possible to add some remarks about the mechanism of the transposition. It is generally recognized that *dirgha*- has not become **drīgha*, which would have given e.g. Kal. **drīha*, **drīta*, not *dirgha*.² But, according to the Prāśākyas and other sources, consonants were doubled after *r*, and it seems quite possible that *dirgha*-, *karmān*- might result directly in **drīgha*-, **kramma*-, and *tanra*- in **trama*-. Turner³ and Bloch⁴ prefer, however, to assume that there was first an anticipation of *r* into **drīgha*-, **trama*-, "since the original group containing *r* behaved like any other group containing *r*"⁵, i.e. was assimilated. In proof of this Bloch adduces K. *trār* (23).⁶ Another example is Shi. *jāz* 'ringworm', which Turner⁷ derives through **jāz* < *dadār*-. K. *ḥāc* 'mother-in-law' (30) has scarcely passed through a stage **ḥāpār*-, but is assimilated from **ḥāc* < **ḥāpār*, and Kh. *praś*, Ph. *prāś* 'rib', with palatal *ś*, point rather to **praśū*- than to **praśīh*-. If Bloch and Turner are right, the second *r* must have been lost through dissimilation with the first one, as in Kal. etc., *rāt* 'night' < **rātār*:- K. *ṛāṛ*; A. *ṛār*, etc.

If we try to define the special conditions which may have caused or favoured the metathesis of *r*, we may at once discard the possibility of any tendency having been at work to secure open syllables, as was the case in the various changes of Slavonic **gor-dū*-, **Krotvīma*:- **trā-dīra*- would still have had closed syllables.

If we assume a development **karm-man* < **kram-ma*- in Type I, there would, however, have been a simplification of a final syllabic group, which was liable to be assimilated, as subsequently in *carm-mān* > *cammā*-.⁸ And in Pash. of Gahabar *k'grām* < **krām* (but obl. *karmā*) it may be that the transposition did not take place till after the loss of the final vowel in the nom., **karm(n)* becoming **kram*.

² Turner, l. c.

³ But also *trār*.

⁴ Nep. Diet., s. v. *dāḥ*.

⁵ Savi *praś* was given by a speaker of GiB. whose own form was *pośā*.

⁶ Cf. Notes on Phalufa, p. 15: "the preventive anticipation of a threatened anticonsonantic *r*".

(> **kāṁ*), but obl. **karnā* > *karna*. Cf. Pashto *trīw*, f. *tarwa* 'sow'; Skt. *parā* 'pungent'.

A theoretically plausible idea would be to assume some kind of connection between metathesis and accent. But our complete lack of any knowledge of the stress-system prevailing in the Parhie languages at an earlier stage prevents us from following up such speculations.

In Type II no difficult groups were relieved, *dā-tra*, *lan-tra* giving perfectly possible sequences, cf. Ph. *yāndr*, etc., **yān-tra*. The L.A. metathesis cannot therefore be compared with that described by Grammont¹ from Bagnères-de-Luchon, where a difficult group is relieved by a metathesis *capra* > *cribo*, while *ri* remains in *pari* < *parirr*.

But the initial generally stands in a stronger position than the rest of the word, and it seems reasonable to assume that this fact has had something to do with the lasting and constantly recurrent tendency in Parhie to transfer *r* to an initial group. We may, perhaps, compare the tendency to anticipate the aspiration in many L.A. languages, e.g., in Käl. *dhr̥ga*, to anticipate the aspiration in many L.A. languages, e.g., in Käl. *dhr̥ga*.

Similar transpositions of liquids, are of course, a phenomenon well-known to many languages. Thus we find in Ir., corresponding to (22), Yaghobi *driṣṣ* 'sickle' > *drāṣ*; Munji-Yidgha *Pr̥gus* - *Pr̥n-yus* < *drāla*-(?), and, according to Benveniste² perhaps Sogd. *ḍr̥s* < **dāḍbra*.

Finally it may be pointed out that in Ksh. an *r* is sometimes inserted after the initial consonant.³ Thus, *ṣōē* 'purity'; *ṣrōēim* 'to become pure'. This may possibly be due to an analogical influence from the vacillation in cases where the *r* is ancient, as in *br̥p̥iḥ* 'before' < **bār̥p̥iḥ* < *duvra-koṣṭha*. A different kind of 'insertion' of *r* has been discussed in my article 'Notes on certain features i V. Pahlavi', e.g., in *ākhr̥i* 'eye'; *br̥nukh̥nā* 'hungry' (< **bhr̥nukh̥nā*). I am still inclined to believe that in these cases *ksh̥r* has developed from *ks*, or, perhaps, from *ch*, with segmentation. Cf. also Käl. *dr̥gāṭi*, B. *lāghim* 'right (hand)' < **draks-*.

¹ *Traité de phonétique*, pp. 339, sqq.

² JA, 1933, p. 219. Cf. also Umari Lahit, La métathèse de l'*r* dans les idiomes romans, Helsinki, 1935.

³ Grieson, The modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, § 286.

⁴ AO, VI, pp. 305, sqq.

IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN KHOWAR

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient IA. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Glahela languages to the north".¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Parhie population of Kafirstan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khol invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]". In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Khol, when compared with the neighbouring Parhie dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Khol, and other Dard and Kalir languages some may be of IA. origin. But it is none the less remarkable that Khol should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body. Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of IA. origin in Shina and Kalashia, Khol. has *yēē* 'eye', *d'yaq* 'mouth', *k'gini* 'tongue', *ri'gi's* 'beard', *ṛ'nuof* 'finger', *du'gūr* 'nail', *kram*, *arqa* 'back', *as'qūr* 'lung', *ghal* 'bone', *is'ki* (*q'?*) 'heel', *is'qi* 'jaw', *blig* 'pupil', *zōnū* 'knee', *bi'zu* 'arm'. Some of these words come from Ir., others are of unknown origin.⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Khol, which form the subject of this article are very numerous. They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished:

- I. Loanwords from (Modern) Pers.
- II. Loanwords from some Middle Ir. language.
- III. Loanwords from the Panir dialects.
- IV. Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ LSI, VIII, 2, p. 133.

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *rēw* 'wine', *rēni* 'dog', *is'kion* 'milk', etc.